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VOL. VII.—NO. 38.

NEW YORK, DECEMBER 19, 1897.

PRICE 3 CENTS.

BOSTON.

Last S. L. P. Broadside in the Mayorality Campaign.

BOSTON, Dec. 10.—The municipal campaign in Boston waxes hot. QUINCY AN AGENT OF MORGAN. The camp of the Philistines is divided. Josiah Quincy, an alleged Democrat, and present Mayor, leads one wing. Quincy was formerly a Republican, but went into the Democratic party along with a battalion of young scions of Massachusetts money bags some years ago when the Democratic party promised cheaper goods via free trade, and incidentally to control that party in the interest of the big pirates.

SINGLE TAX DUPES. When in the Legislature he was an active and energetic worker for biennial elections, and the leader of the corporation and large monied interests of the State, and especially of that class that have a movement in the field to exempt from taxation stocks, bonds and mortgages, a cabal that has used the Single Tax followers as a cat's paw—as they were used for years by the Cleveland gang—to further their interests.

QUINCY'S CAPITALISTS' CABAL. Quincy has established a cabinet outside of the law, which he calls "a strong and permanent connecting link between the city government and the leading business organizations of the city." It is called the "Merchants' Municipal Committee," and is elected by the Associated Board of Trade, the Chamber of Commerce, the Clearing House Association, the Real Estate Exchange, and the Shoe and Leather Association. These men are known as the Mayor's advisers.

Quincy and his backers have for years been working to take all the power possible from the City Council and vest it in the Mayor, and they have succeeded. The power not vested in the Mayor has been given largely to trustees, appointed by him, who, as corporations, have charge and absolute control of such institutions as the Public Library and City Hospital, save that the City Council decides how much money they shall have each year. Since he entered public life his cold and clammy hand has been on everything tending to take power away from the voters and tighten the grip of capital. His leading passion is the love of power.

THE REPUBLICAN CANDIDATE. Curtis, the Republican candidate, is light—very light. He is no match for Quincy as a juggler and political fakir. Quincy has been offered a prize if he will say who he voted for for President, but he will not.

TOM RILEY, LANDLORD. Thomas Riley, a lawyer, who is said to be a man of honest impulses, but so far as the public expression of such impulses for the past dozen years are concerned, has kept them well under control, is the candidate of the Bryan Democrats, who could not go Quincy, together, as allies, a quarter of a gross of Democratic statesmen and former city office holders now out of a job. Riley, while never having been connected with the corrupt politicians, is a typical representative of the middle class, which THE PEOPLE has often pointed out, the Bryan party stands for. In addition to being a lawyer, he is a landlord in a small way; he is assessed in Boston for \$100,000, and like his class and all upstarts, is said to be an exact and exacting landlord. While other men have been out on the trail of capital and its political fakirs, Riley, like all of his tribe—the middle class—who have not been sold out by the Sheriff, has been adding house to house and living, in what might be called his castle, on Beacon street, with the skins of his fellow men.

THE PEOPLE'S old friend, the labor fakir, is about in all his old-time glory, and, as usual, is allied with the wing of the capitalist class that has the most ready cash to pay for professional services such as he has to offer. Quincy being backed by the syndicate headed by J. P. Morgan, of New York, whom he helped to mulct the city to the tune of \$2,000,000 to assist them in building the Union Station. All in need of ready cash or drinks and cigars are hurrying to the Quincy camp.

THE HAND OF THE LABOR FAKIR. The following appeared in all the papers last night:

"At a meeting of the Workingmen's Political League last evening the large attendance present voted unanimously to endorse the candidacy of Mayor Quincy, and to work zealously for his re-election upon the grounds of his magnificent record in behalf of organized labor. Arrangements were also made to carry on an energetic campaign in behalf of Frederick J. Kneeland, candidate for the School Committee."

EDWARD J. RYAN, Pres.
FRANK K. FOSTER, Secy.

Foster was one of the tribe of labor fakirs who make their headquarters in Boston, and who came out in a similar way endorsing the candidacy of Grover Cleveland in 1892 "on the ground of his magnificent record in behalf of organized labor," when their circulars endorsing him were put out at a Socialist labor rally in Faneuil Hall, from which platform they and their endorsement were denounced. Unfortunately for them, events forced Cleveland to show his hand towards organized labor in a way that will make him infamous in history, and marked the beginning of the downfall of the tribe of labor.

THE EARLY LABOR MOVEMENT. In 1848 an honest attempt was made

to found "a workingman's party" in this town. On May 9th of that year a meeting was held in Faneuil Hall, when the following resolutions were adopted:

"RESOLVED, That if we would procure the passage of just and efficient laws to protect labor and raise it from its present degrading dependence on wealth, we must purge the halls of legislation of hirelings, who basely pander to the interests of capital, and to accomplish this result we recommend for the laboring classes to try the experiment of trusting the management of the political affairs to men of their own class who know their interests and have a fellow feeling in supporting them."

The meeting was called to endorse the candidate of the workingmen's party, and was addressed by Elizer Wright, Horace Seaver and John C. Clure.

THE SOCIAL REVOLUTION IN 1848.

In April, 1848, the Franklin Typographical Society, of Boston, an organization still in existence, but now dominated by the boss class, "voted to transmit to the printers of Paris, in response to the glorious events of the recent revolution in France, in which they bore so noble a part."

"We rejoice to learn," the address goes on to say, "that the tendency of events in France is to social reform, and that the French people are demanding that reorganization of society which shall secure to the laboring man the fruit of his skill and industry. To us this is the noblest feature of your revolution, for we are convinced that mere political reforms do not effect much for the mass of mankind. The people have done enough for the self styled higher classes; it is time now to work for themselves. They should proceed as if they knew and recognized the truth contained in the noble words of one who, at different periods of his life was a citizen of France and the United States, namely, 'That gold in the last analyses is the sweat of the poor and the blood of the brain.' As Americans, engaged in a vocation which you have honored and illustrated by heroic deeds, as citizens of that community which France was first to welcome to the lists of nations, and to sustain whose liberty and freedom she poured out her blood and treasure; as bearing in our united capacity the name of that man who formed the first treaty between France and the United States, and was at once a philosopher, a statesman, a friend of the human race, and a printer, we venture to address the printers of Paris as men."

In a future article I will attempt to show that the working class political movement started here in Boston early in the century, was nipped in the bud by the tool of the boss class—the predecessor of the labor fakir now abroad in the land, and that the Socialist Labor party is carrying on the work on the lines laid down by the organized workmen in Boston and Massachusetts as early as 1836.

HISTORY SUPPRESSED.

There are no depths of villany and mendacity that these fakirs hesitate to stoop to; they not only try to declare what history shall be made, but pervert it when made. In 1869 the Knights of St. Crispin, an organization of those workers, broke away from the pure and simple, and organized a workingmen's party in Massachusetts, and nominated the late Edwin M. Chamberlin for Governor, and cast 13,000 votes that year and 20,000 the next. George E. McNeill in 1884 published what he calls a "history of the labor movement." Though the book contains about 400 pages of matter, mostly trash, he neither mentions this movement or Mr. Chamberlin, who bore such a pure and conspicuous part in the labor movement from 1865 to 1892. The book, however, contains pictures of about all of those who have appeared during the last five years in THE PEOPLE'S rogues' gallery, with no end of biographical sketches.

The action of the author of the "History of the Labor Movement" in this respect ought to brand him as an historical fakir of the worst kind.

THE LAMP-POST FOR FAKIRS.

It is lucky for this tribe that they are on the edge of the social revolution rather than in the heart of it, else they would find themselves dangling from lamp-posts. The blows THE PEOPLE has been striking are beginning to tell. Worcester's thirteen hundred votes at the State election for the Socialist Labor party, followed by the nine hundred votes for the Socialist candidate for Mayor in Haverhill, and the election of a Socialist to the City Council last week, and the 450 votes for the Socialist candidate for Mayor in Fitchburg, the toughest soil for Socialist seed to grow, are but the forerunners of a mighty break in the very near future to the Socialist Labor party. It may come at the city election in Boston next Tuesday, Dec. 21st, or it may be postponed, but come it will. Let every Socialist do his duty and swell the vote for David Goldstein for Mayor.

T. C. B.

BOSTON NOTES.

The Socialist Labor party will hold its last rally during this campaign in Faneuil Hall, Monday night, Dec. 20th.

A copy of this issue of THE PEOPLE will be mailed to each voter who signed the Socialist nomination papers. They are invited to subscribe. It may be found on sale at the news stand in Brigham's restaurant, Croisdale, 183 Harrison avenue, and at Cohen's, on the Bridge, Washington street, and at other places.

Those who intend to vote for the Socialist party and have their vote counted can only do so by voting for David Goldstein for Mayor; let each ballot look like this when it is deposited in the ballot box:

DAVID GOLDSTEIN (Mayor).
Don't throw away your vote on either Riley, Curtis or Quincy.

The polls open at 6 o'clock a. m., and close at 4 p. m., Tuesday, Dec. 21st.

A large vote for the head of the Socialist ticket is more important in this our first municipal contest than at any other time since we entered the field. The highest vote received for a candidate on the State ticket in Boston at the election in November was 1,750. Let all put their shoulder to the wheel and send the vote for David Goldstein for Mayor above this figure.

To those who passed through and participated in the workingman's political movement in the seventies, and later in the greenback movement, and saw the monkey-shines cut up by the fakirs sent in to break them up and control them in the interest of the capitalist parties—their downfall began by endorsing first a Democratic candidate who was a "friend of labor," and then a Republican, who "loved the workingman"—have taken new hope that the founding of a labor party is not a dream because of the militant basis the Socialist Labor party is now planted upon and the splendid progress it is making on its present basis of operation. Its line of battle is distinctly marked out, and all who enter now understand its purpose and aims, and so understanding, will keep step to its music.

The current number of THE PEOPLE may be found in each of the twelve branch reading rooms of the Boston Public Library, donated by Scandinavian Social Democratic Club. THE PEOPLE is read and re-read.

A CHALLENGE.

To the President and Secretary of the Boot and Shoe Makers' Union, or any one you may choose to represent you:—

Dear Sirs:—I am instructed by the Goodyear Trim and Welt Shoemakers' Union to challenge you to debate the question of organization as advocated by the Boot and Shoemakers' Union affiliated with the A. F. of L. versus that of the General Council of Shoemakers affiliated with the S. T. & L. A., on Wednesday evening, Dec. 22, in the rooms of the Shoemakers' Club, 439 Broadway, Brooklyn.

The rule governing the debate to be forty-five minutes to open and fifteen minutes to close.

The reasons for issuing the above challenge are as follows:

On Monday evening, Dec. 13th, several members of this organization attended an open meeting of a branch of your union, which has been established in Brooklyn, and when they tried to gain some information as to the benefits to be derived from joining, they were unable to get any. Therefore, believing that an organization which has the interests of the shoemakers at heart, would give all the information desired instead of adopting such methods, we believe it our duty to request you to explain through a public meeting the benefits to be derived, so that the shoemakers may choose the best form of organization, and not be fooled, as they often have been by representatives of the shoe trade, on various occasions. Fraternally,

K. PRYOR, Secretary.

Subscribers who are in arrears are urged to settle their accounts before January 1, 1898.

The organ of the Cleveland, O., Central Labor Union, the "Citizen," gives Mr. Gompers this well-merited rap over the knuckles:

"Samuel Gompers, formerly of London, is a Republican politician. He has stood as a candidate on a Republican ticket, and is opposed to the free coinage of silver as well as Socialism. More than that, Samuel Gompers, formerly of London, who hypocritically poses as a 'pure and simpler,' has during the past few months, although employed by the trade unionists of this country to attend to union affairs, knowingly or unknowingly worked in the interest of the Republican party."

This certainly is carrying things one point further on the line of logic. We had gone only so far as branding and exposing Gompers as a "pure and simpler." The "Citizen" now shows that this fakir is capable of even greater turpitude than that of "pure and simpler": he is capable of pretending to be a "pure and simpler." Guess that's so.

At the State conference of leading Prohibitionists, held last week in Syracuse, an admission was made by one of them that, if taken to heart, should cause the immediate disbandment of the Prohibition party. One of the conferees said:

"A search-light and a blood-hound could not discover a trace of the agitation of our party."

The only fault to be found with this statement is that, in a way, magnificent traces ARE found of Prohibition agitation in the fact that, from the party once being the third in this State with a vote of over 40,000, it has dropped to the fourth rank, with less than half that poll. This we consider to be quite admirable traces.

Let the Prohibition agitators go on; they will help civilization in that much that they will assist Socialist propaganda by furnishing a vivid illustration of the sanctimoniousness that capitalism can assume.

If, however, the observation made in Syracuse is taken to heart, the party of the Standard Oil and of land sharks will save its money and go out of business. The American people won't be humbugged forever.

FORCE WITH FORCE.

Graphic Account of Socialist Bravery in Vienna.

President Abrahamowicz of the Austrian Reichsrath, who, in order to carry out the Repulsive Program of Premier Baden, Violated the Rules of Parliament, Received his Answer from the Socialist Delegates, Who, Altho Subsequently Forcibly Ejected, Have Received the Unstinted Approval of the Working class of Austria—A Great Historic Incident.

VIENNA, Austria, Nov. 26.—The high-handed procedure of yesterday by Abrahamowicz and his stupid majority was answered to-day by the Socialist Labor party's representatives in the only manner that such scoundrelism deserves. What took place to-day was not a "session": it was a good deal more: it was the indignation of a people against political cliques of all sorts that are now seeking to seize the rights of the people finding its fiery expression. Abrahamowicz and his heelers heaped crime upon crime. Accordingly, to-day there appeared policemen in the Hall of the Representatives of the people and dragged out of the hall the men chosen by the people to go into that Hall. This crime cries for redress—and will find its redress.

The following is a short sketch of those now historic three hours.

The principal entrances as well as the court yards of the House of Representatives were occupied with guards; from all sides, large masses of people pressed forward to get admission. At each of the entrances to the second gallery strong guards were posted long before 11 o'clock, intended to keep the people away. In the House itself a great excitement prevailed. Every lobby was crowded with people who still hoped to gain admission through the influence of friendly delegates. The delegates themselves were almost all in their seats. A heavy weight seems to hover over the House. An explosion is expected. It is noticed that the number of assistants at the bar before the President's desk is greatly increased.

At 11:30 the President, Abrahamowicz, his colleagues, Kramarch and Fuchs, appear and take their seats.

The Socialist Labor party delegates stand like a wall before the bench of the Ministry on which Baden, Gautsch and Ritter had taken their seats. Abrahamowicz had barely taken his seat, when "Away with him!" "Off with the President and his colleagues!" and such outcries came from the body of the Socialist Deputies. The rest of the Left was almost quiet; but the cries of the Socialists resounded ominous through the House. The President grows pale; evidently he was not prepared for such a reception. In a little while he seizes the bell and rings for order. That only embitters the feelings; the cries of the Socialist delegates become ever louder and more violent. The President rings again. Thereupon that took place that was the violent answer to the violation of the laws by Abrahamowicz. As a bolt of lightning the Socialist Delegate Berner leaps over the heads of the Ministers; lands on the President's desk, and imperiously points his fingers at the law-breaker, the President; seizes and throws away the bell, sweeps the President's papers off the desk and throws them on the floor. Almost at the same moment Delegate Reel of the Left landed near the President's place and scatters the last papers over the House. The other Socialist Delegates rush forward. In an instant the President is surrounded by them. Abrahamowicz squeezes himself between them and escapes while the struggle proceeds over his head. His aids venture to threaten the Delegates and some of the "Young Zechs" come to the aid of the former; with the dexterity of rowdies, Urdzal, Dyk and Lang, "Young Zech" Delegates, fall upon Berner, trying to pull him down the steps. Berner defends himself powerfully, but is finally overcome by a heap of these people, under whom he seemed literally buried.

All the same, the President's desk remains in the possession of the Socialist Delegates; our brave comrades hold it like a fort. It was a solemn, beautiful moment: it was a scene full of deep, genuine and justified passion, never to be forgotten by those who saw it. The two Vice-Presidents also took themselves off, and a thundering cry followed them: "You are a lot of miserable scoundrels." From the desk that Abrahamowicz had desecrated passionate cries now resound that are received with storms of applause by the Left. Our Comrade Delegate re-enters the Hall from another side and rushes forward to the President's desk, now held by his friends. He is received with stormy joy. A few minutes later Kramarch appears in the Hall and endeavors to parley with the Socialists. Delegate Daszynski answers him: "We shall yield only to force." Kramarch retreats. The incredible is now expected.

POLICEMEN IN THE HALL.

It happened. The police turned up. The door to the right opened, and a whole brigade, fully 60, strong, with pikes, and lead by the Chief of Police, marches in. A fearful noise ensues. Above the din are heard the cries fired at the police: "Go back!" "You are committing a breach of the Constitution!" "Such a thing is unheard of!" The Chief of Police first surrounds the President's desk and the Ministers' bench. Then he ordered his men to fetch the Socialist Delegates down. The order is executed by seizing them one by one. The first to be seized was Einger, and he was dragged down. The police fell upon him like executioners.

The sight of such a misdeed went through the House like a shock. From the floor and the galleries the cry of "Shame!" rose tumultuously. The other Delegates were pulled off in the following order: Schrammel, Zeller, Verkauf, Kiesewetter, Bratny, Steiner, Kozakiewicz, Jaroziewicz, Resel, Berner, Hybesch, Rieger—all of them brave defenders of Labor; the only missing one was Comrade Hannich, whom illness had kept in bed for some time.

The last one remaining at the President's desk was Comrade Daszynski, who still held out. The Police Commissioner approaches and addresses him rudely; finally the policemen seize Comrade Daszynski and drag him down and out of the Hall. Thereupon two detectives, with the eagle on their button-holes, turn up. The sight of these worthies renews the tumult from the Left. Amidst the violent outcries, the Left demands that the detectives leave the Hall. They remained. The Police Commissioner steps on the bench of the Ministry and issues his orders, whereupon the policemen, who had been engaged in the hand to hand struggle with the Socialist Delegates, and who had also crowded back the other Delegates of the Opposition, take their places in line before the benches of the Left. The detectives withdraw. At this juncture Delegate Wolf started to jump across the bar before the President's bar. He is seized by the police and violently driven back.

As the policemen first entered the Hall, the "Young Zechs" received them with loud applause. The policemen now made themselves at home. A second Commissioner appears. They report to each other. The Hall looks like a Police Station—what a sight in the Hall of a popular representation!

Some of the Socialist Delegates reappear and are received with deafening applause. The noise increases. Some delegates are taken sick. The Delegates of the Left jump on their benches. From all sides the cry is fired at the police: "This is treason to the people!"

THE GALLERIES.

In an instant the aids begin to clear out the gallery, which is packed with people. During the whole scene the gallery had encouraged the Socialists, and uttered denunciations of the police. One tier after another is cleared; all the louder are the cries from the remaining ones, answered by applause from below, and the Delegates and the galleries wave handkerchiefs at each other. From the galleries resounds the cry: "Down with the betrayers of the people!" Delegate Joseph Steiner answers the gallery: "Stay where you are, don't yield!" Presently speeches are made from the galleries that are received with stormy applause. Finally, the second gallery also is cleared.

IN THE LOBBIES.

The squad of police here was originally 30 strong. Baden addresses their chief, and the Minister orders them to invade the Hall and restore quiet. The Commissioner objects he has only 30 men with him, and that was too small a force. Thereupon Count Baden answers: "Very well; wait for reinforcements." He immediately issues an order for another squad. A few minutes later 30 more policemen come in at the double quick. The two squads form in line and are ordered into the Hall.

IN THE HALL AGAIN.

The tumult was going on in the Hall. The policemen now form an impenetrable wall before the President's desk. The Socialist Delegates all return to the Hall, expressing their condemnation at the treatment they received. Delegate Resel rings a small bell that he brought with him. Delegate Leecher cries out: "The rest of us are cravens; only the Socialists are men!" Delegate Dr. Funke throws the papers he has on his desk into the air. Delegate Gloeckner, pointing to the police, cries: "We must protest against such outrage!" Delegate Schoenerer calls out: "Why don't the policemen take their seats on the Ministry's bench?" Delegate Wrabetz: "A liberty monument is due to the 'Young Zechs'." Again Delegate Schoenerer mocks the police, calling out to them: "Stand straight; no loitering!" By degrees the noise subsides. After 12 o'clock the Hall was almost empty.

The larger number of Delegates gathered in the lobbies; those who remained behind continued to gey the police. At 12:30 the Zechs stream into the Hall. Behind them appear Minister Count Eadeni and Baron Glanz, who linger at the benches of the Polish Delegates. They are followed by Ministers Belinsky and Ritter. The Left also re-enters. Delegate Schoenerer calls out to Count Baden: "What a precious President of the Ministry!" The Right cries out: "Order!" The Left retorts with: "Shame upon you; you are responsible for this!" The Zechs throw in: "You are to blame!" Delegate Pommer exclaimed: "You scoundrels have sold out freedom!" Delegate Gloeckner: "Such a crew does not deserve to be talked to."

The Ministers took their seats surrounded by detectives and police. Upon this followed the formal suspension of the Socialist Delegates for that session, and their violent expulsion from the Hall.

The subsequent events are pretty generally known. Baden's victory was short-lived. That same evening he had to resign. And the Socialist Delegates who reported the transactions of that historic day to their constituents were everywhere received and applauded by monster mass-meetings.

The Brooklyn trolleys are to be consolidated—"for the good of the public." How "for the good of the public?" Because by the consolidation "\$1,000,000 will be saved."

To whom? To the public? Will fares be lowered?—No, no, no.

How then?

By having fewer employees. In other words, the savings are to come out of the hide of the working class—whence all savings come.

BRAVO, HAVERHILL.

The Arm With the Hammer Strikes Heavily.

The Election of James F. Carey to the Common Council by the Socialist Labor Party From the Fifth Ward—Detailed Account of the Vote—The Socialist Labor Party Poll Rises in all the Wards—No Truce Declared Until the Foe Shall Have Surrendered to the International Red Banner of Socialism and Wage Slave Shall Have been Emancipated.

HAVERHILL, Mass., Dec. 10.—The municipal contest in this city has been brought to a close and victory has perched upon the banner of the Socialist Labor party. We have come out of the contest with a better organization, more Section members, with largely increased vote, while the cohorts of boodle are amazed, wondering why and how the thing occurred. Haverhill wears the proud distinction of having elected to her council chambers the only Socialist which has thus far been elected east of Paterson, N. J.

The 5th Ward is essentially the workingman's ward. It comprises some 1,800 voters, 90 per cent. of which are wage slaves. It is also the abiding place of Socialism. It was but fitting that we take the step which has been taken here, and the results attest the efforts made. In some of the other wards, while they have many Socialist residents, there was none who came within our constitution, hence we nominated no candidates for Alderman in the 2d and 6th Wards. With the exception of the 5th Ward we made no contest for the School Board, assessors, and the other minor offices. As it may please the members of the party throughout the nation to know the party's relative strength, I give the vote throughout:

For Mayor: Daniel S. Chase, "Citizens non-partisan," 3,108; John C. Chase, Socialist Labor, 875; John A. Gale, Republican Good Government, 2,338.

For Aldermen, Ward 1: James F. Dalley, Socialist Labor, 1,195; Fred V. Hooke, capitalist, 3,368; William Sellers, who ran on some other firm of "business men's good government," 1,042. Ward 3: George Ashworth, Rep., 351; George L. Evans, Socialist Labor, 938; Daniel F. Roche, Dem., non-partisan, good for everything, 1,674; Leyander J. Young, Reg. Rep., 2,527. Ward 4: B. Franklin Barnes, non-partisan, 1,203; William J. Evans, Socialist Labor, 786; Roswell L. Wood, good government, 3,681. Ward 5: Dumer B. Bean, Rep. nomination papers, 2,661; Euchariste Bellefeuille, Socialist Labor, 888; Geo. F. Carleton, Reg. Rep., 2,191. Ward 7: Albert L. Gillen, Socialist Labor, 1,431; Alfred E. Lyons, Rep., 3,478.

For Common Council—Ward 5: Jas. F. Carey, Socialist Labor party, gets 909 votes, and is elected; John W. Codaire, the next highest, receives the "non-partisan" compliment of 639; Michael Collins, Independent, 90; A. E. Deroche, Independent, 41; Charles A. Gale, Rep., 440; Jas. S. Higgins, Rep. Ind., 432; Richard B. Thomas, Dem., 89. For School Committee: George M. Burke, the S. L. P. candidate, gets 369; George Hain, non-partisan, 278; Dr. Duncan McDougall, Rep., 743.

It may be well to say that the first municipal contest ever waged in this city by the S. L. P. was in 1895, when Comrade Michael F. Berry, the then candidate for Mayor, secured 136 votes. James F. Carey was the party's standard bearer in the election of 1896, and received 604 votes, and at a special election held last June he received 601 votes, notwithstanding that the latest vote cast fell off at least 30 per cent. from the preceding regular election.

We have demonstrated to the capitalist politicians that we are here; will stay here till we conquer the universal public powers, and to the wage slaves whose wage is "somewhat" lower than in years gone by that it is the only haven for the degraded and disheartened sons of toil. And to the whole people we say: we are here to assist at the funeral of capitalism in city, state, nation and earth, and will lay down our guns only when the foe has surrendered and the International Red Banner of Socialism has been planted on the citadels of capitalism. Hence we say: "Workingmen of all countries unite; you have naught to lose but your chains, and a world to gain."

M. F. BERRY.

Subscribers who are in arrears are urged to settle their accounts before January 1, 1898.

LETTER BOX.

Offhand Answers to Inquirers.

H. O., Portland, Me.—If you look more carefully at the facts in the case you will find the bottom dropping out of your premises; and if you read more carefully the paper from which you send a clipping you will find your muster to be the reverse of what you claim.

L. L., Baltimore, Md.—The San Francisco "New Charter" of Nov. 5, referred to in our last week's communication from Lynn, contains a letter from Gov. Rogers to the Editor, assailing, not Socialist tactics only, but Socialist aims and principles. It is therein answered very much in full, and Gov. Rogers is shown not to be a Socialist at all.

J. P., Washington, D. C.—If you have the money to spare and the time to devote to Lubbock's two works, it will pay reading them. Having the key to history furnished by Socialism, their errors are easily detected. There is much in them that is valuable.

THE PEOPLE.

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SOCIALIST VOTE IN THE UNITED STATES.

In 1888 (Presidential)..... 3,065
In 1890..... 12,331
In 1892 (Presidential)..... 21,157
In 1894..... 33,133
In 1896 (Presidential)..... 36,564

He that observeth the wind shall
not sow; and he that regardeth the
clouds shall not reap.

Ecclesiastes

HAWLEY GIVING THE LIE TO McKINLEY.

According to the President's message, the nation is a lump of prosperity; according to a bill introduced by Senator Hawley at the earliest hour possible, the nation's prosperity has wide and deep cracks.

No sooner was Congress opened and the President's message had been read, than Senator Hawley demands attention to a bill brought in by him for two additional regiments of artillery. How is the introduction of this bill to be interpreted but as the lie direct to the Presidential claim of our paradisiacal happiness?

A happy nation can be only such in which all, or at least the overwhelming majority of its people, are happy. Isolated instances of unhappiness need not be positive signs of a germ of disease that is bound to spread; they may be exceptions that prove the rule; national happiness need not be affected by them; but a happy nation must at least be one with a majority of happy beings.

A being is happy only when he is free, and a being can be free only when his mind is free from anxiety for a living. His happiness must have for its groundwork the knowledge that his wellbeing depends upon himself; that he will be poor and harassed by want only if he neglects to guard against want, and that if he is industrious, his industry will be rewarded. Man's sense of freedom is born from the sense of his independence from others and his dependence upon himself. There can be no freedom and no happiness where man's individuality is undersapped by dependence upon others for existence. A happy nation must, accordingly, be one in which the people feel self-reliant.

A self-reliant man is a peaceful man. He who is happy, being self-reliant, and is self-reliant because his well-being depends only upon himself, is himself an instrument and source of order and peace. Such happy conditions he would be the last to disturb and the first to uphold. A happy nation must, accordingly, be one in which order and peace are in the keeping of its own people, and proceed from their happy frame of mind. A happy nation needs no artificial means to preserve order and peace; force, regiments of artillery, are superfluous institutions among such a people.

Now, then, if McKinley is right, and we are a happy, prosperous people, why should we want more regiments of artillery than we now have? If, on the other hand, Hawley is right, and we do need such increase of repressive power, we are not a happy and prosperous nation. One or the other is in error.

Which of the two, McKinley or Hawley, in giving the lie to the other, is right?

MISSIONARIES AS BALES OF MERCHANDISE.

No doubt that the German raid upon China in "vindication of Chinese outrages upon German missionaries" is intended to furnish material upon which to base capitalist stump speeches during the approaching elections for the Reichstag. We shall hear much about "patriotism," "religion," and the like; and who knows but that outside of Germany similar arguments will be made on the same subject, and with the same end in view.

These speeches may edify those who find it profitable to be edified thereby, to the increasing number of clear-headed people the circumstance serves to throw light upon the development of capitalist political methods.

At one time the bale of merchandise was the pretext for "patriotic" outbursts. Our own continent, especially below the Rio Grande, was the theater of such "patriotic" displays. An English, a French, a German or a Spanish adventurer would suddenly turn up and open a shop in some town of Latin America. His appearance was usually connected with some scheme concocted in the Foreign Office of his own country. Sooner or later a revolution would break out in the town he settled down in. Thereupon, whosever's shop remained intact, his own

was always consumed by fire. Like the bankrupt bourgeois who in the days of the downfall of the Commune in Paris poured petroleum over their places, burned them down, and then laid the blame upon the Communists, and got their insurance moneys, these traders always destroyed their own property, and forthwith demanded indemnity from the country of their "adoption." These indemnities were not small. Bales of cheap merchandise, not worth \$10, are known to have become the basis for claims running up into hundreds of thousands of dollars, and for armed interventions that subjected the American State, picked out for the purpose, to the pillage of the soldiery of the European nation whose "citizen" had been outraged. To a not inconsiderable extent, the history of many a Latin American State is the history of these "patriotic" efforts of the capitalists of some European nation, at the time running its government, to "maintain the dignity of their country." The Maximilian Empire in Mexico, backed by French arms, was the most notable instance of these European capitalist conspiracies.

Of late the pretexts for these raids by European states have undergone a change; it must be admitted, an improvement—from their standpoint. Missionaries are now substituted for bales of merchandise. The bale of merchandise can not be claimed to have a religion; "sacred" though property may be to the capitalist, he can exploit "religion" twice as well. Moreover, as human life is becoming such a drug on the market through the development of improved machinery, the Missionary can be had cheaply; his whole outfit—stove-pipe hat, white cravat, umbrella and smirk—need not cost half as much as the average bale of "cheap and bad" merchandise. Thus it happens that with increased and increasing frequency we now find "patriotism" to bubble, and rage, and find expression in the clatter of arms, not over bales of merchandise, as used to be the case in the days of less developed capitalism, but over the carcass of a Missionary, whose life, useless, superfluous, and a drug at home, blossoms abroad into an odorous martyr, the source of "religious" and "patriotic" indignation that serves as an infinitely better wedge to open new markets with, and replenish the coffers of the Gentile, Jewish and Atheist labor-fleecers at home. So now with the German episode in China.

This development in its outward manifestation is instructive. How will it work at home? We shall soon be able to tell.

Subscribers who are in arrears are urged to settle their accounts before January 1, 1898.

ST. PETER AND THE POLITICIANS.

[Written for THE PEOPLE by JAMES ALLMAN, New York.]

Saint Peter stood by the heavenly gate. Where the souls of the blest enter in. Wearied he was, for he has long to wait in this era of evil and sin. When most souls of men, I am sorry to say,

Are so wicked they go in the opposite way.

Three mortals approaching, in greatest surprise
The heavenly janitor saw.
He keenly gazed on them with questioning eyes,
And addressed them thus: "Before I draw

These bolts back and throw heaven's gate open wide,
You must tell what you were on earth, and how you died."

"When I was on earth," the first mortal told,
"The Republicans I voted for,
The party who promised us plenty and gold;
But now, Pete, I feel very sore,
For when they got in, truth to tell,
naught to hide,
The times were so hard, of starvation I died."

"My case," said the second one, "differs from that;
For, Peter, to you I'll relate
That I, when on earth, was a staunch Democrat,
And my party controlled the whole State;
Now just how it happened I cannot tell you,
But strange to say, I died of starvation, too."

"They called me a Socialist while I alive was," the third mortal here loudly said;
"I taught that a small idle class should not thrive,
On the wealth which the laborers made;
But the many were fools, like these two, and denied
The truth that I taught and—of hunger I died."

The gate Peter opened: "Right in YOU can go."
To the Socialist's spirit he said;
"Take an orchestra seat in the heavenly show."
At the other two he shook his head,
Saying, "You can't go in, for the truth I must tell,
Your ignorance would soon transform heaven to hell."

On the 21st instant there will be a grand mass meeting at Winter's Teutonia Hall, corner Harrison and Bartlett streets, Brooklyn.

Comrades Daniel De Leon, J. Allman, and M. Hilquit on "How to Abolish Poverty." Alexander Jonas will speak in German.

CIVIL SERVICE REFORM

As Seen by a Socialist.

Civil service reform at the present time seems to occupy a somewhat prominent place in the public mind, so much so indeed that it would appear as if those who advocate it desire to introduce it into every office which can by any means be considered as public. Indeed, judging from the movements of its advocates at the National Capital, the impression seems to be justified that the extension of Civil Service Reform is urged with more vehemence within the last few years than at the original recognition of it by law.

Moreover, whereas in the past civil service reform has had some opposition, this was weak compared to that which is now being marshalled against it. Indeed, whatever may have been the pressure brought to bear against it in the past, it remained for this day to see an organized fight made against it, this now commencing under the auspices of the Anti-Civil Service Reform League of the City of Washington, D. C.

Viewed from the standpoint of capitalist political economy, the advocates of civil service reform seem to have by far the best of the argument, and since the people at large have generally only been presented with the views of those advocates and opponents who employ the reasoning of such capitalist political economy, and since the opponents have been mostly disappointed office seekers, it is clear that, at the present time, the large majority believe civil service reform is a step in the right direction.

Let us, however, consider the question of civil service reform from the standpoint of the proletariat, or the working class, and to do this let us first understand the conditions of the civil service prior to its "reform," and then examine its condition after the said reform, since, generally speaking, we may justly attribute the difference to the workings of the civil service reform legislation.

In the earlier days of our government we had what the civil service advocates term the "spoils" system, that is to say, the party in power had absolute control of all appointive offices, and, as a consequence, it was extremely difficult, if not impossible, for any one not a supporter of the dominant party, to obtain employment under the government.

Occasionally one who did not endorse the views of such dominant party would be in a government position under such party, but in that event such incumbent had perhaps a personal friendship or relation with some prominent politician of the party in control of patronage.

If but part of what is told of the civil service under the spoils system be true, and it will scarcely be denied, the employees of the government were not prone to overwork themselves during that regime. As a consequence, a larger number of employees was needed to conduct the business than would otherwise be required. Subordinate officials would lounge about the buildings, and if called before their superiors for reprimand, as sometimes happened, would emphatically impress upon such superiors the advisability of a policy of non-interference. In other words, nearly every incumbent was more or less of a factor in the party either through his influence as a local worker or as a personal friend of some prominent politician. Partisanship ran high, campaigns were discussed with warmth and interest by all whose views coincided with the platform of the dominant party. Others were forced to hold their peace, and were given to understand that they held their positions by a shadowy title indeed. Funds for election purposes were collected from the employees, who were also forced to take an active part in various schemes for the promotion of the party.

With this condition of things it is obvious that the Republicans, who had been successful at the polls for many years prior to the adoption of the Civil Service Act, filled practically all the government offices and held them for years. A Democrat in office was not entirely unheard of during that time, but there were few, and their lives were almost unbearable in some instances.

It is noteworthy that a Democrat was the champion of the proposed reform. This champion, George H. Pendleton, be it remembered, was also an extremely wealthy man, from an extremely wealthy family. It might be urged that Pendleton's advocacy of civil service reform was because he was shrewd enough to see that, if it were introduced, Democrats would stand a chance of obtaining an office under the government, even if the Republicans continued to be victorious at the polls.

This motive, however, did not prompt his action, since his shrewdness went further, and his thorough knowledge of the subject, partly acquired by a study of the system abroad, would clearly show him that he could not pass any civil service law which would compel the dominant party to appoint an adherent of the opposite party.

Let us now turn to the conditions of the civil service as it exists to-day.

In striking contrast with its previous characteristics, the discipline of to-day is almost perfect. To take an active interest in an election is offensive partisanship and cause for removal. To be late at work is a misdemeanor, to be careless or indifferent in work a crime. The thirty days' vacation with pay, obtained by incumbents under the spoils system, still exist in most departments, but the former often must be taken only when the work of the applicant for leave has been brought up to date by long hours of overwork, and the presentation of a doctor's certificate with request for sick leave is not necessarily fatal, but at least a thing to be avoided.

To use the language of the civil service advocates, the departments are now being run on "business principles." Every workingman outside the departments knows what that means. Economy is practiced in every branch—both of time and material. Salaries, it is true, are high in comparison with what the incumbents could earn if thrown out of office, and the hours, as fixed by law, are short. Unnecessary subordinate officials are gradually being dispensed with by the introduction of new systems of business. Contract work is run to the lowest prices in many cases, and a gradual movement toward the government production of these things required by itself can be seen.

To sum up the leading theme of the hymns of praise going up from the throats and pens of its many supporters relative to civil service reform seems to be: "It is so much cheaper." Now, to whom does all this benefit flow? Let us see.

According to socialistic economics, labor and nature produce everything. Nature makes no charge for her services in the partnership business, and, consequently, all wealth can truly be said to be the production of labor. Yet we know that there is a class which does nothing in the way of production and still gets more wealth per head than does the laboring class.

This is the capitalistic class.

This is due to the industrial ownership of the means of production and distribution, together with the rapid advancement of labor-saving machinery. The machinery displaces labor, and the unemployed bid against each other and against the employed for positions, thus lowering the price of labor to the point where the wages will just suffice to keep the workers in existence and allow them to raise a new supply to replace themselves. By this competition among the laborers, due to the fact that they have no money or property on which they can live without work, and hence MUST sell their labor power in order to save themselves from starving, the class which owns the means of production and distribution can demand from the workers a certain amount of what the workers produce. The class which can do this is the capitalistic class before referred to.

Therefore the wealth in the hands of said capitalistic class is practically stolen from the workers by what might be termed with truth a system of legalized highway robbery. Instead of demanding "money or your life" at the point of a knife or the muzzle of a gun, the capitalistic class enforces the demand with the wave of a title deed of some sort, it being fully known to the workers that if they refuse to be scared by such an instrument, the demand will be backed up by further weapons in the way of courts, sheriffs, police, and finally, armies, if necessary, so that it might be said that modern weapons of warfare are the real instruments to compel the compliance of the workers with the demands of the capitalistic class. These modern weapons of warfare, viz., the courts, sheriffs and police, kept up for the capitalist class, constitute the main part of the present government, when taken in connection with the collateral branches required to keep this main part in condition for use and collect the money by which it is maintained.

The money to support all this machinery of government is raised in two ways: by import duties and by taxes levied either on property or on the person.

If the worker must pay any of these taxes, then the amount of which he can be robbed by the capitalistic class is reduced to an equal extent, but without any benefit to the worker. If the capitalistic class pays any of these taxes, the amount which such class took from the worker is reduced by that much. The capitalistic class dares not abolish the government which serves only to protect its class against the indignation of the workers, but, on the other hand, every cent spent on the support of such a government puts down by that much the amount which the capitalistic class has robbed from the worker, or which otherwise could be robbed from him by such class.

Here we see the two opposing features of the present system of society. On the one hand the capitalist must have his government, and on the other hand, his stealings are reduced by the amount necessary to support that government. What the capitalist does then is to so control and arrange his government that he can have all the protection which he will need against the workers at the least possible cost.

THIS IS CALLED CIVIL SERVICE REFORM.

This whole scheme of cheapening the cost of the government to the capitalistic class no doubt was the only motive which prompted Pendleton to fight so earnestly for the introduction of civil service reform.

He belonged to and represented the class which would derive the sole benefit from it, and his class instincts and interests pointed out the path to be trod.

All efforts were made and are still being made to get a corps of employees who would turn out the most work in the least time, whereby the number of workers required would be greatly reduced as compared with the old system.

Then the employees were to be divorced from politics in order that they would be without political influence, and could then be crowded to the greatest efforts with impunity. This step of destroying the political influence of government clerks was thought to have been completed during Grover Cleveland's term, and the next step, that of increasing the hours of labor, was tried, by issuing an order that the clerks must not quit at 3 o'clock on Saturdays during the summer, as had always been the custom. This step was premature at that time, since, as it was discovered, there were a number of clerks who were in the departments prior to civil service reform, and who still maintained their old political connections and had sufficient influence to cause some trouble, wherefore it resulted that the present administration was induced to restore the short hours on Saturday. But the recent disbanding of the Illinois Republican Club of Washington, D. C., on the ground that it no longer had any functions, since politics were destroyed in the departments, clearly shows that the time is fast approaching for a new step in the line of economy, either by an increase in the hours of work or by a reduction in pay, and finally by both.

Already there are rumors that Congress will be called upon to reduce the salaries of clerks, though such rumors are very indefinite at present. (See note at end.)

Another striking example of the inconsistencies of the present social system is seen in connection with civil service reform. The race for cheapness causes the capitalistic government to gradually attempt the operation of new branches of business in order to supply itself with what it requires, at the lowest cost, thus saving the profits of contractors, and thereby tending to benefit the capitalistic class as a whole by keeping down the rate of taxation, while at the same time this very step toward government production of its own supplies prevents INDIVIDUALS of the capitalistic class from making the profits they otherwise would on con-

tracts they could get from the government. For instance, some years ago the government bought all its mail-boxes by contract, but finally started a lock-shop of its own, and, by the introduction of the latest approved machinery and low wages, managed to cheapen the cost of locks from about \$1.25 to 45 cents each. And when enough locks have been made to supply the demands of the Post Office Department for some time, the employees are laid off WITHOUT PAY in just as approved a manner as if they were working in a privately owned shop.

This is civil service reform as it affects the employees.

But since it has not yet reached its climax, and as positions on the outside are hard to obtain and difficult to keep, those lucky enough to hold a government position are largely in favor of civil service reform, because they got the jobs without influence, and know that if the civil service rules now in force were abrogated they could not hold their places.

Thus, until the salaries have been cut down and the hours lengthened, until the government positions approach those on the outside in undesirability, there will always be a rush of applicants for admission, which rush the Civil Service Commission meets by increasing the requirements for admission, until now, for some positions of \$1,000 to \$1,200 per year, only a person of the highest scientific attainments and education could ever pass.

Thus the workingman is shut out from any chance of filling these offices for the reason that no matter how competent he might be to do the work required, he must have an expensive, and (to him) unattainable education to pass an examination which is designed, not merely to show his qualifications for the position, but to shut off the rush.

Thus it will be seen that civil service reform is not intended to benefit the worker, will not benefit him, and should not be even considered by him, as it is not an issue of his class.

And in this connection it is a curious fact that the only party which can truly and consistently promise the worker both the good that there was in the spoils system and the good that there may be in the civil service reform is the Socialist Labor party. In can promise every person a job, because it intends to establish the Co-operative Commonwealth, in which every one willing to work will have a good position, with short hours and bountiful returns for his work, and it can promise civil service reform since the workers themselves can be depended upon to see that loafers and "clock-watchers" are reformed or fired.

Note.—Since writing the above, the battle for the increase in the hours of labor has opened in the Bureau of Printing and Engraving. A ruling has been made that hereafter there shall be no pay for extra work, which heretofore has always been paid as a matter of course. Consequently, the employees affected by such new ruling are complaining.

But this will do no good, for their political influence is gone; they have no votes in Washington, of course, and they will not be allowed to take any active interest in the politics of the States from which they hail. Thus they will be compelled to work overtime for nothing or get transferred to the "Exterior Department." M. C. MASSIE, Washington, D. C.

Subscribers who are in arrears are urged to settle their accounts before January 1, 1898.

POLITICAL and ECONOMIC.

If ever a man was treated like the proverbial hot potato it is Richard J. Hinton, "President of the Colonization Department of the Social Democracy."

About two months ago he burst forth like Morning Glories in all the glory of extensive interviews in the papers, wherein, giving his full title—"President," etc.—he boomed, in the regular land speculator style, a certain worthless tract of land in Tennessee, which he—as "President," etc.—announced was under negotiation by him—the "President," etc.—for the new colony.

While these interviews were reprinted and broadly circulated, there was noticeable silence in, and thereby implied approval from, two certain quarters: first, the Chicago "Social Democrat," the organ of President Hinton's "Colonization Department," and the New York "Voice," the organ of the Prohibitionist land sharks, who sought to unload the certain worthless tract of land above named.

In the midst of that silence of approval there appeared in THE PEOPLE the trenchant article from a Washington Comrade exposing the swindle. And then? "The President," etc., is dropped by all concerned like a hot potato: The "Voice" hastens to disclaim knowledge of the negotiation, and the "Social Democrat" hastens to reprint the "Voice's" disclaimer.

It is not our purpose to shiver a lance for the Potato. Suffice it here to point out how "a word in time," strongly uttered, can smash the deepest plots and cause conspirators to assume a look of innocence that amounts to an eloquent plea of guilt.

In the name of the expected victims we accept the plea; we keep ourselves ready to launch the second indictment so soon as the occasion may require,—and, we hope, with the same swift effect.

We call attention to the advertisement of THE PEOPLE'S New Year Greeting for 1898. All Comrades should have a copy.

Our Comrades in Germany have just scored a fresh victory. Comrade Oertel has just been elected to the Reichstag in Nuremberg with 20,000 votes—a gain of 2,000 since 1893.

The vote among the capitalist candidates was distributed: 11,259 Liberal, 991 Democrat, 607 Centrum or Clerical, and 622 Conservative.



BROTHER JONATHAN LOOKS WORRIED.

Uncle Sam—You look distressed.
B. J.—I am, in that I can't make out a certain thing.

U. S.—Which?
B. J.—You know our wages were reduced in the shop in which I work.

U. S.—That's not the first time; by this time you ought to have grown accustomed to it;—and even to like it, seeing that you persist in voting the tickets of your bosses.

B. J.—No; I'm not getting accustomed to it. But it is something new that is worrying me.

U. S.—And what may that be?
B. J.—It is the reason given for our reduction.

U. S.—And what is that?
B. J.—That our reduction of wages is necessary in order to thin out the overstocked market.

U. S.—That is something new; and yet no stranger than so many other reasons they have been giving you each time that the bosses want to take a larger slice off your hide.

B. J.—Don't you see? The less we earn the less we can buy and take out of that market.

U. S.—Correct.
B. J.—Now, with higher wages than we now have we could not thin out the market, so overstocked it is.

U. S.—Correct again.
B. J.—If, then, our wages are reduced still lower, how on earth are we to thin out that overstocked market so as to start in and produce again as before?

U. S.—Your opinion that a lowering of wages only makes harder the thinning out of the market is certainly well grounded.

B. J.—Then the boss is a fool—
U. S.—No; you are the fool.

B. J.—I!
U. S.—Certainly, for believing the boss means what he says.

B. J.—Do you then imagine he favors an overstocked market?
U. S.—That depends; but that is not the point.

B. J.—What is? Relieve me of my suspense.
U. S.—What do you imagine the boss is in business for? Because he likes it?

B. J.—Well—no—
U. S.—He is in business to make all he can, eh?

B. J.—Just so.
U. S.—Money is the burden of his song, eh?

B. J.—Just so.
U. S.—Any thing or method that will bring him money will do, eh?

B. J.—Guess so.
U. S.—Now, then, follow me close. There are a hundred dollars' worth of goods in the market. Your boss employs 25 men. These hundred dollars' worth of goods are produced by these 25 men, that is to say, each produces four dollars' worth of goods, and gets one dollar's worth of wages. These 25 men go to the market, invest \$1, and thereby pull out of the market twenty-five dollars' worth of goods. How much wealth has the boss left for himself?

B. J.—Why, seventy-five dollars' worth.

U. S.—Correct. You are a great arithmetician. Now, suppose the boss were to raise the wages to \$2—

B. J.—Why, then we could buy twice as much from him!

U. S.—(smiling)—Yes; the men would have received from the boss fifty dollars' worth of wealth; they would buy that much wealth in the market, relieve the market by that much—and leave to the boss, how much?

B. J. looks perplexed, as though he were catching sight of a ghost.

U. S.—Hello, there! How much?
B. J. (falteringly)—Fifty dollars' worth of wealth.

U. S.—Is that more or less than before?

B. J.—Less, by Jericho! Twenty-five dollars' worth of wealth less!

U. S.—And, as you justly admitted a minute ago that the boss is in it for the money he can make out of it, he would not be the fool to help reduce the market by leaving him poorer. Now look at it from this other side.

B. J.—Which?

U. S.—The boss lowers the wages of his 25 men to 50 cents each—

B. J.—We HAVE come down almost as low.

U. S.—Then these 25 men have only \$12.50 worth of wealth with which to relieve the market, eh?

B. J.—Yes.

U. S.—They buy to that amount. There then is left to the boss how much of the wealth produced by his men?

B. J. (calculates a while)—Eighty-seven dollars and fifty cents' worth!

U. S.—Is that more or is it less than if he were to pay them \$2?

B. J.—More, of course—\$37.50 more!

U. S.—Is that more or is it less than if he left their wages at \$1?

B. J.—More—\$22.50!

U. S.—There you have the secret. As the boss only seeks to skin you, because only in proportion as he does that does he grow wealthy, the less he pays you the more he makes. His overstocked market he will try to dump on other nations; he may yet turn you into a missionary to the heathens as a means to open those new markets. To understand that you must be clear upon this: Wages and profits come out of the products of the working class; the smaller the share of the worker the heavier the profits of the loafer capitalist—overstocked market or no overstocked market.

PLAIN WORDS TO BOSTON WORKINGMEN, JEW AND GENTILE.

Address Delivered by Daniel De Leon, under the Auspices of the Re-organized Jewish Section of Boston, in Wells Memorial Hall, Boston, Nov. 12, 1897.

[From a Stenographic Report.]

Comrades of the reorganized Jewish Section of Boston, workingmen and working women:

It is about two years ago, I think, that from this very platform I addressed you upon the tactics we were pursuing in New York, and thanks to which we had scored a very respectable success. I recommended to you that you adopt similar tactics if you desired to make progress. I am glad to say the advice given was taken to heart. You crushed the cockatrice of Anarchy in the egg; cleansed your ranks; merited the applause of the National Convention of the Socialist Labor party; and have since marched onward with firm steps, steadily gaining ground. Encouraged by such successful efforts on your part, I accepted the invitation to address you again on party tactics. Taking my subject—"Plain words to Boston workingmen, Jew and Gentile,"—from the circumstance that this meeting is held under the auspices of the re-organized Jewish Section of Boston, re-organized after it has been rid of the undigestible material that hitherto disgraced it and hampered its work, I shall again take up the question of party tactics, and shall again draw from New York the illustrations and the examples I wish to hold up to you. This I consider all the more timely because of the fact that, in this city, you are now for the first time taking part in a municipal campaign. It may seem paradoxical to say, but you will presently agree, that just for the reason that municipal campaigns afford the least ground on which to deploy Socialist issues, it is all the more necessary to conduct them with closest adherence to sound tactics.

MUNICIPAL CAMPAIGNS.

Municipal issues, especially in these days of capitalist "sop-throwing" campaigns, are placed in an angle of vision that easily lead the eye away from the ground issue underlying all campaigns, and asserting itself with ever greater force,—the issue of Labor against Capitalism. Cheap gas, cheap fares and kindred matters are quite "taking," yet all agitation based upon them, not only leads away from, but is a blunt denial of Socialist principles and aims. Cheapness is among the last things that Socialism is after, because living can not be "cheapened" without the price of labor being proportionally cheapened. It follows from the scientific principle that labor is a merchandise under the capitalist system, that the laws of the market, which rule the price of all merchandise, must also rule the price of the merchandise labor. The smaller the quantity of labor needed to produce an article of merchandise the cheaper it is; if the things needed to keep the workman alive, and in condition to produce his species, become cheaper, the merchandise labor-power must become cheaper too. Those who have other things to sell than their own hides may get so much money in it as gas, etc., is cheaper; but not the worker. Socialism has not the MARKET for its objective point but the FACTORY, the place where productive work is done. It seeks to put the implements of work in the workers' hands; the rest will take care of itself. The municipal agitation for cheapness is a bourgeois agitation. Socialism seeks, not to make cheap gas for the workers, knowing that that will only make cheaper workingmen for the capitalist; Socialism seeks to put the gas plant itself and all plants in the hands of the workers, because only so can the worker be rid of the capitalist parasite and keep all that he produces.

Again, municipal issues have with them a fatal allurements. The utopian notion of furnishing "practical illustrations" of Socialism by municipal schemes is fatal, not only in that it panders to a sentiment that cannot but rob Socialism of its revolutionary pulse and thereby retard it, but also in that it denies by implication the material fact, never to be lost sight of, that the womb in which the Socialist Commonwealth develops is the womb of the nation, and, as a result, that the real issues of the day are essentially national in their nature; that all other issues, municipal and State, deserve attention in so far only as they connect directly with the central, the national revolutionary thought. Your municipal campaign in Boston can be made a Socialist campaign only in so far as you bow close to the principle that to carry Boston for the Socialist Labor party is merely to capture for the revolution one of the outposts of Washington—our real objective point.

It is for these reasons that sound tactics, important at all times, have a special and specific importance in Socialist municipal campaigns. In National, and even State campaigns, the very nature of the issues removes the danger of our attracting unripe votes, and thus being misled; our poll there is a pretty reliable barometer of the numerical ripeness of the proletariat. In municipal campaigns, on the contrary, many things, many unguarded expressions, are apt to contribute towards a swollen Socialist poll; such a poll would be an unreliable barometer of proletarian ripeness; few things are to be more carefully avoided by our movement than that of self-deception. Let "hurrah movements" trot out figures that melt away like snow before the sun. Ours is a movement not of a day or of a man; it must be absolutely self-reliant. Hence in our municipal contests the question of tactics should be pre-eminent. Rather a small vote gained soundly than a big one that you know not what it may turn to.

The best way to introduce the specific tactical points I want to mention is first to give you an idea of what happened in New York last November 2 and during the campaign that closed with that day.

THE SITUATION IN NEW YORK.

Outside of New York State, the capitalists and their parties have not yet reached the point of fearing the Socialist Labor party. In New York, especially in the now city of Greater New York, the Socialist Labor party is feared. The magnitude and spontaneity of our meetings, the firmness of our attitude, our unswerving career, have not

passed by unperceived. But that is not all. Last year's campaign in the Ninth Congressional District, set the district ablaze to such an extent that it forced its way into the capitalist press, and closed with a Socialist poll of over 4,300 votes—a larger vote than that cast for more than one of our Comrades now holding seats in some of the Parliaments of Europe; and this year's campaign in the Sixteenth Assembly District was of such a vigorous nature that our party came out second in the race, and so close to election that 700 votes would have turned the scales in our favor. The work, the vigor, the discipline, the enthusiasm that all this implies cannot choose but be sufficiently manifest to reach the alert eyes and ears of the capitalist foe. That foe knows that important Socialist victories are now at hand in New York; it knows that any one such victory means the starting of a new political era, means the closing of an old volume and the opening of a new;—and they have set their caps to delay, to prevent, if possible, the happening of that that will compel their press to take proper notice of the party.

Nor yet is that all. Our right to a place on the official ballot is a sore in the New York capitalist's eye and a thorn in his side. Despite the shameful manner in which we are counted out in the rural districts of the State where we have no organization, they have not been able to wipe us off the official ballot. Count us out as they may in the rest of the State, the vote in New York City alone renders our place safe. The increase of this vote makes us all the safer, and infuriates the foe all the more. But besides their failure in this direction, another thing contributed to the last campaign to intensify their efforts against us. The party nominations in New York are arranged in columns. Each party entitled to a place on the official ballot has a column for itself; and they are arranged according to the vote they polled at the last gubernatorial election. Now, the S. L. P. holds virtually the third place. The Republican party comes first; the second and third columns are taken up by the two factions of the Democratic party; these two are virtually one party; the S. L. P., consequently, is the third party. It got into the third place last year by driving the Prohibitionists back. Now, then, this third place is important. There are "historians" going about who advance the theory that "third parties have no room and no chance in this country." The fact is that this country's history, short as it is, is the history of the success of "third parties" (applause);—of course, of third parties that know what they want, that know how to get there, and that are determined to do so, in other words, that have a mission to fulfil. That the S. L. P. is such a party, the foe knows. When the sample ballot was published, and it was ocularly and pictorially brought home to the foe that we were the third party in New York, the effect upon their press was visible. For a day or so the surprise of the capitalist press got the best of their judgment, and they had editorials and squibs commenting upon the "promotion" of the S. L. P. ticket, etc. Then there followed silence; and upon the silence there followed a sight and sound that was unique, inspiring, instructive.

I shall not here go into the evolution of the Henry George candidature. Suffice it to say that it went through a series of stages; its last stage was reached when the sample ballots were published. With one accord, the capitalist press announced and boomed him as "the candidate of the Socialist Labor party." Editorials appeared stating that it was "a trick" on the part of the Socialists to set up another ticket; that they were all going to vote for George. Straw votes were published, in all of which a large vote was given to George; even Faddy Gleason, who was wholly swept out of sight, was "straw voted" into prominence; silence reigned as to our candidate; occasionally only, as if to emphasize the point, we were granted 1 vote. It was George, and George again; George "the Socialist," George "the idol of the revolutionary element," George "the representative man of the S. L. P." And most notably in the midst of all this, Henry George, who had been strutting the stage of American history for the last ten years as the great "Socialist Killer," and who justly entertained for Socialism the aversion that the ridiculous mouse entertains for the cat, never once opened his mouth in denial of this robust political lie. His meetings, small though they were, were inflated in the press into "mammoth Socialist rallies"; ours, however big, did not get a whisper.

Our party fought its way in the city under this bi-diurnal deluge of false information, palpably intended to confuse the masses and discredit the party. The conspiracy failed, in so far as it failed to wipe us out. Our square came out with the loss of NOT ONE MAN; nay, it came out with fully 1,000 new recruits—stronger, more vigorous, better disciplined and radiant. (Applause.)

ATTITUDE TOWARDS UNIONISM.

That this test could not have been stood, and this result achieved but by tremendous energy and the soundest of tactics in the navigation of such waters goes without saying. With regard to the tactics observed I shall mention a few, such as may have their application here in Boston as well.

The first in the order of importance is our attitude towards unionism. Each Socialist Labor party has to break through a special shell of its own, in which it happens to be laid. A German, the party had to break through the shell of the Utopian chimera of Lassalle; in Italy and Spain through the shell of Anarchy; in France through the idea of physical force revolution; and so on. Here in the United States it had to break through the shell of

IDOLATRY FOR THE WORD UNION.

Time was when, in its devotion to the cause of the class through whose loins it is strained, the S. L. P. bowed down in meek reverence before the labor union without looking further. As the Union consisted of proletarians, the same as the party, most of whose members were, as they are yet, also union men, the party felt sure that the Union, whatever its errors, was bound to develop in the right direction. It erred in this. For reasons too long to go into here, the old trade union, wrongfully planted from the start, underwent here a development that landed it into the hands of a class that is peculiar to American conditions, a sub-class of the capitalist class, to wit, the LABOR FAKIR. In the hands of this FAKIR, the Union retrograded. All the advantages to be derived from it by the proletariat in point of discipline, information, organization, consolidation, etc., oozed out; in the hands of this gentry it became a channel of corruption for the working class, a means to keep them divided and in ignorance, an institution that perverted their vision by turning it away from the right direction and in the direction of middle class aspirations. In the hands of these gentry, the Union became a caricature of the middle class, with all the illusions and weaknesses of that class, a curse to the workers, an impediment to progress,—but a source of revenue, if the paltry Judas wage can be styled revenue, to the Labor Fakir.

This baneful development had gone on unperceived by the party. Its old beliefs continued its old reverence. And the Labor Fakir alone profited thereby. To the party, in whispered tones, he was a Socialist, "doing all that he could for Socialism"; he thus disarmed opposition; and, with the prestige he derived from the party's credulity, he found his path all the freer to ply his nefarious trade. What that trade is I shall illustrate with a few instances.

We have in New York a "Cloak-makers' Union." That organization consists essentially of the Anarchist Barondess and his disreputable cronies. With the assistance of the gutter-snipe capitalist reporters, the business firm—it is nothing short of a business firm—of Barondess & Co. keeps itself before the public. How does this "firm" subsist? Disagreements between the cloak-makers and their bosses are frequent. At every such time the men naturally seek aid from some organization. The only one in their trade is Barondess; the information is kept up before their eyes by the gutter-snipers, very much like Jacob kept up peeled rods before Laban's eyes. The men go thither; to be listened to they must "become members," or, to put it plainer, they must pay dues. There is your revenue, until the next trouble breaks out bringing a new windfall.

At such times, always with the assistance of the gutter-snipe reporters, the papers are filled with the "heroic efforts of the Cloakmakers' Union" to "wipe out the sweating system." This furnishes another stream of revenue to the precious firm. The stirring stories told the hearts of credulous old and philanthropic ladies. These rush forward with various sums, that, of course, are placed in the hands of the "Committee." A fierce campaign is waged, in the papers, against the sweat-shops. The philanthropic ladies must see some results. Suddenly we are informed, again through the zeal of the gutter-snipe reporters, that "THE SWEATING SYSTEM IS ABOLISHED." When the "firm" believes that the public has forgotten all about this victory, the sweat shops, just abolished, are to be abolished once more; and thus the swindle is perennially repeated. (Laughter and applause.)

More recently, kindred "firms" have "enlarged their business" by adding to it a new "department"—a "Legal Department." Some unconscionable adventurer, a little cleverer than his unfortunate fellow countrymen—most of these cloakmakers are Russian Jews—settles down as an additional vampire upon these poor men and exploits their racial bonds. Birds of a feather flock together. The Labor Fakirs' "firms" and these shyster lawyers make common cause. If a strike does not come on of its own accord, it is investigated. The sweat shop is once more to be "abolished." For its "abolition" the shyster is introduced as a benefactor, overflowing with charity. He is engaged to draw up the "contracts"—to the tune of \$2 a piece. (Laughter.) He philanthropically promises to "contribute" 50 cents on each contract to the union. Several hundred "contracts"—not worth the paper on which they are written—are drawn up, signed and delivered. My shyster forgets all about his promise; pockets the whole fee, perhaps, probably, "goes divvy" with his pals, the fakirs; and the sweat-shops are once more abolished. (Laughter.)—until the impetuosity of this rascal again instigates a new strike, and the sweat shop is to be "abolished" once more.—Is such an organization a "Union"? Is it not rather a compact of brigands preying on the unfortunate proletariat? (Loud applause.)

Take another illustration. More than once THE PEOPLE has shown by signed communications that branches of the "Garment Workers," another precious "union" consist of "officers and a book." These officers go to sweat shops and shops that deal in prison-made goods, frighten the boss with the book, said to contain the names of thousands of members; the boss then "sees" the officers; and they sell him the label, and pocket the proceeds.—What sort of a thing is that? A union? Yes—a union of vultures on the working class. (Loud applause.)

Again, in the printers' trade we have in New York a so-called "Hebrew Typographical Union." It leaves its own trade unorganized; deserts fellow proletarians in the midst of a fight, thereby aiding the bosses by such downright scabbery; seeks to keep its jobs at the expense of leaving all others wholly disorganized; and receives the aid and protection of a German "union," whose own main endeavor seems to be to throw into the camp of the unorganized its own fellow-members, who aided it in gaining whatever it now has, but have since lost their jobs.—Are these unions in every proper sense of the words?—Such organizations cannot, but disrupt, enfeeble and degrade the working class. (Applause.)

Taking a still broader view of the situation, see the attitude of the A. F.

of L. It places its membership on the ground of the capitalist issue of the tariff. In the tobacco trade the manufacturers want cheap tobacco, hence want a low tariff; the raisers of tobacco leaf in the country want high prices for their goods, hence want a high tariff. Gompers gets his cigarmakers' unions to petition Congress in the interest of the bosses, the manufacturers, for a low tariff; the tobacco leaf raisers get their men to petition Congress for a high tariff; and thus the workers, whose interests are one, if they stand on the interests of their own class, rush, divided at one another's throats because they are misled by the Labor Fakir into capitalist class issues.

No need of multiplying illustrations. Of such is the bulk of the "unionism" in the land to-day; hence the working class is disorganized, and a prey to capitalism. Such "unionism" is a fraud. The interests of the Labor Fakirs require the continuance of this disorder. While the party ignored this fact it indirectly promoted the conditions under which the proletariat remained in abject hopelessness and darkness, with the result that the party, in the eyes of the broad masses, shared the suspicion that already was being attached to the Fakir, and had no standing whatever in the country.

But the superstitious reverence for the word UNIONISM finally came to an end. The party broke through that shell. It raised its Arm and Hammer, lustily played that with heavy raps over the heads of the existing fake unionism. No longer did it bow down before the word; it began to look behind that word. All progress dates from then. The fakirs howled, and some of their dupes howled with them, but the rank and file saw a new light and breathed a new air. It is no accident that in New York last election day the party's heaviest gains were made just in the districts whose organizations and candidates were most uncompromisingly on the war path against the devilry of fake unionism, and in favor of bona fide unionism, the unionism that is built upon the solidarity of the proletariat—the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance. (Loud applause.)

Let me recommend to you to fearlessly follow that path, unfettered by the noise of the Labor Fakir. In the Sixteenth Assembly District, where the party organization was conspicuously on the basis of New Trade Unionism, i. e., of the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance, an incident happened that is worth noting. Our watchers were accurate in their reports; they reported just two ballots on which their candidate for the Assembly, whom the fakirs had concentrated their rage against, was stricken off. These two otherwise Socialists had been made enemies, but in their stead over 700 had been made friends, and they put that candidate that much ahead of the ticket. Those two could have been kept as friends only by an attitude that could not have attracted the 700 (applause). By the party's old policy, it kept 2 by losing 700 (applause). The tactics, with regard to unionism, that we follow now attract 700, though we may temporarily lose 2. Fall to fearlessly on this path. The necessary ally of the political movement for the emancipation of the proletariat is the class-conscious trades union; that implies that the inevitable foe of the party and hindrance to the redemption of the working class is the fakir-controlled class-unconscious so-called "union." Build up the former; be known as the upholders of its cause and the uncompromising adversaries of the latter. This is indispensable to success, because that is indispensable to kindle the fires of class-consciousness, and thus to weld the proletariat into one solid, irresistible body. (Long applause.)

ATTITUDE TOWARDS RACES.

Next in importance, as applicable here in Boston also, is the New York attitude towards the several races.

When the thoughts of great men fall into the hands of little men a mess is the inevitable result. The Socialist or proletarian movement is international; this is a profound thought, dropped from master lips. Unable to understand this thought, there are those who deny all national inherited feelings. Man, the best of us, the firmest in the humane principles of our great cause, still is man, and flesh, and apprehension. We are apt to love our own children, our own homes, just a little better than we love others' homes and children. I'll confess to you that, to me, for instance, the word "America," associated, as it is, with the earliest memories of my childhood and woven in the nursery tales of the great deeds of her sons, and of the surpassing beauties of her natural scenery, awakens within me a feeling that no other country's name can awaken. We must count on this feeling. It is a virtue. Like all other virtues, if driven to excess, it may become a vice and harmful. We should utilize the good that is in it, and that it is capable of.

Take the Irishman for instance. He was a monster if the word "Erin" did not quicken his pulse with love. Generations of heroic struggles against a foreign domination have woven that thought of freeing Ireland from British domination is natural, is praiseworthy. To sympathize with this feeling and to promote it wisely is no denial of the internationality of our movement. On the contrary. We, who are already Socialists, and know the secret of the birthplace of slavery, are the only ones who can show the proletarian sons of Erin the path to her liberation. That path lies exactly upon the elevated plane of International Socialism, and his passionate love for Erin will help him to see it. For instance, during the Pullman strike it came out that Queen Victoria owned large blocks of stock in the Pullman prison-pens. Her grandfather, when his workingmen in America, the colonists, went on strike and refused to yield him dividends—taxes, as it was then called—had to send red-coats over to try and coerce them. His grand-daughter, now that America is "free," when her wage-slaves in Pullman go on strike, needs not go through the trouble that her grandfather did; she can let a Grover Cleveland, named "President," in fact her lackey, together with her other lackeys on the Bench, in the Senate, etc., do her dirty work. The Irishman who, justly fired by hatred of the British rule, has his attention called to such facts, cannot fail to see through the deception practised upon him when miscreants of his race call upon him to support the Democratic and Republican benches of the Govern-

ment that he hates. He is then switched on to a track that enables him to drop the illusions of old and to perceive the class struggle. His formerly limited patriotism enlarges; his very love for Erin makes him shake off his misplaced love for the Irishman who is a capitalist, and draw himself close to all his fellow wage-slaves of all nations. This is no sneaky exploitation of his virtue; his virtuous love for Erin can win him to the cause of mankind. It is a portal that we do not lock and bolt in New York. On the contrary, we open it wide with the Irish and in all similar instances. (Loud applause.)

This is the obverse of a medal, that, as all medals, has a reverse. For the very reason that such national features may be useful and must be cultivated, we must strenuously resist the attempt to enlist respect for alleged national characteristics that are not virtues but vices, that are not noble features but defects, that are, not national but freakish. This issue was forced upon us by an element, mainly from among the Russian Jews, which, although it is to the Jewish race what the slum-proletariat is to the working class, sought to array itself in all the dignity of that race, and demanded not recognition merely, but supremacy AS JEW.

We frequently compare conditions created here by capitalism with Russian conditions. That can only be a figure of speech. Despotism such as Russia's exists nowhere else within the domain of civilization. That this despotism must tell upon a people is inevitable. It has told severely upon the Jew in Russia. When he escapes from that bondage and lands here, his newly acquired freedom at first seems to be a release him of his senses in the potentiality of its enjoyment. The overwhelming majority of them fly to the other extreme; they straightway become Anarchists. With the time, the acquaintance with a freedom never tasted before works marked changes in the individual's begin to develop according to the special aptitudes, or the bent of each. Some become capitalists, others strolling adventurers, and many grow into Socialism. Some, however, and unfortunately for them, not a few, have been so affected by oppression in Russia that the springs of their minds seem cracked, or have lost all elasticity. These see in every institution of order a Russian ukase; in every one who resists disorder a Russian policeman; in everyone who does not tolerate their tramping over him a Russian Tsar. Freedom, as they understand it, is the right to outrage whom they please with impunity. Physically and mentally these people are diseased. Unfortunately for them whatever progress they were making towards a healthier frame of mind, men of their own race jumped in to retard.

As the worst enemy of the Irishman, the Italian, the Slav, etc., comes from the ranks of their own race, so likewise, from the ranks of the Russian Jew come the men, the leaders, who seek to exploit his weakness for the gratification of the private malice which their narrow-breasted brains breed. These leaders, who, strolling like rolling stones westward from Russia, have acquired only the worst features and none of the good of the nations among whom they sojourned and now sojourn, of ungovernable conceit and vanity, superficial knowledge, meretricious abilities, characterless, unscrupulous, and bereft of all sense of propriety, sought to ride the party. They played upon the unfortunate, diseased Russian Jew. Although these leaders themselves are a libel upon the Jew, they donned the mask of apostles of the Jewish race, to aid them in their scheme—and thus sought to introduce the Semitic question into our ranks—just as their fellows have vainly tried in Europe. By fraud they captured three of our Assembly Districts with the wretches who were weak enough to listen to them, threw the party constitution overboard, instituted there a system of terror and rowdiness, and stupidly imagining from their first successes that they had the party by the throat, they began to claim superior rights for the Jew over the Gentile, and to seek to dwarf our great cause to the small measure of their own petty notions and vanities.

For a time we held our breath and looked on, and tried reason. The gravity of the situation finally dawned upon us. And we met it in the only wise way. The "national" or "race" characteristics claimed by this element and put in operation by it, even if really national or racial, were of the sort that had to be crushed; it kept out the decent Jewish element, and, of course, the Gentile too. New York saw that; pulled itself together, and, with one grab of this element by the nape of the neck threw them out.

Philadelphia, so circumstanced that it could take in the situation more promptly, had taken the lead by putting these people out, and promptly gathered the fruits of its policy by more than doubling its vote. New York followed, and by the firmness it showed in upholding order and squelching a perverse movement of scheming adventurers, earned increased respect, was able during the campaign to present a solid front, that otherwise it never could have presented, and gained votes everywhere—even in the reorganized districts, its percentage increased. (Long and loud applause.)

ATTITUDE TOWARDS "SOCIAL DEMOCRACY."

A third tactical question that New York had to deal with, and that not only you but all our Sections have to confront, arises from the "Social Democracy," that has recently been launched here.

In treating and judging that "Social Democracy" we must guard against being affected by the ill-natured remarks that, with increasing frequency, are dropping from its leader, chief and owner against our party and its "hired men,"—as he pleases to call those of our Comrades whom the party's vote has chosen to carry out its mandates.

Mr. Debs is a gentleman of extraordinary imagination. He can see thousands of men in an organization where the less imaginative cannot see but a baker's dozen. We became acquainted with this feature of his when his organ, the Terre Haute, Ind., "Railway Times," printed speeches of his in which, with a mixed metaphor, similar to that in which he is now claiming the

"Social Democracy" to be running "as a wild fire" and "shaking the country from center to circumference," he announced the progress made by his American Railway Union, and claimed for it 130,000 members, when, in fact, the thing was so dead that its managers were at their wits' end how to start something new. With this imaginative power he saw thousands and hundreds of thousands ready to follow him, and actually enlisted in anything new that his fervid brain might conceive. But that was not enough to generate the "Social Democracy." Something else was needed, and that something else was found.

A party such as the Socialist Labor party, wedged in between the reactionary forces of the land, and conspicuously revolutionary, can not choose but attract freaks and crooks and schemers—the flotsam and jetsam of modern society. Such elements soon find the S. L. P. not to be what they imagined; they find it "narrow," "intolerant," "bigoted," "impractical" and "impracticable." The result of this, to make short a long and harrowing story, is that this element is either thrown out of the party or walks out in disgust. In either case, it is violent at, and full of denunciation against the S. L. P. This is the ash-barrel refuse of the S. L. P., increased by kindred spirits, who did not go through the routine of admission and expulsion, or "indignant" resignation. Unhappy the man who lends an ear to these "alienated individuals and elements of strength." No goose is stuffed like him. The imaginative man does not mean to lie, with him it is pure imagination; the "alienated" brigade, however, does not imagine, it simply lies, and lies with all the power of stupid, vindictive and shallow viciousness. It inflates its numbers, its capacity, its power; the frog in the fable is not a circumstance to them.

This element is and was a necessary force, if the thing can be called force, in the production of the movement under contemplation. The two streams,—pure imagination and unqualified falsification—met. Each deceived the other with its pretences. It was a case of "Duplices duping dupers." Out of the copulation of these two mutually duping forces was born that quaint production that, eventually if not sooner, will find its place in the museums of political curiosities as the "Social Democracy of America and Patagonia." (Laughter and prolonged applause.)

How shall we treat it? Fear it? Not at all. Denounce it wholesale? Not at all. Pat it on the back? Not at all. New York took the correct stand.

In the first place, the Social Democracy need alarm nobody. Mr. Debs stood before now in the way of the S. L. P. in New York, with results that were highly gratifying to us. It is now something like three years ago when in the midst of a campaign, and when he was a much more interesting figure to the proletariat, he appeared in New York, spoke for the People's party, carried about his literature, etc.; net results—the Populist vote went down and ours jumped up. During that same campaign he went across the river into New Jersey and stumped for the Populist candidate for Congress, a violent traducer of the S. L. P., Mr. Josie Buchanan. Mr. Debs' meetings were by all odds larger than ours; he had then, as now, no judgment of appearances; he declared Buchanan elected; net results—the S. L. P. candidate came out greatly in the lead of Mr. Buchanan. It is not the size of meetings and the furor into which these may momentarily be thrown that tells. What tells are the arguments that leave lasting impression. Phrases about sufferings that all know all about, denunciations of conditions that all recognize, unaccompanied by that scientific presentation of the causes, are barren, they do not point out the right path, and are lightly forgotten; and when such speeches are interlarded with points and arguments that insinuate economic errors, their effect for good is still more transient. The masses of our people will not stir except for the revolutionary cause, and that needs the cannon-ball of science; not blank cartridges. Our attitude, consequently, need not be one of fear towards the "Social Democracy." (Applause.)

Nor, in the second place, should our attitude be one of denunciation. This "Social Democracy" can be and is a source of comfort for the S. L. P. in more ways than one. Do you realize how monotonously irksome our work would be if we were forced to present Socialist economics and sociology always from the same side? We would simply break down under the weight. But erroneous movements and issues come to our aid, and thereby enable us to preach and prove the same scientific principles from ever fresher sides. Thus the tariff issue, the gold and silver issues, etc., etc., and now the numerous false issues raised by the "Social Democracy," furnish us fresh materials; thus the science of Socialism is given added chances by the new errors with which it may be contrasted, and the work of its propagandists is made easier by the introduction of variety from the outside. (Applause.)

Furthermore, this "Social Democracy" is a blessing in another way. Prof. Ely, in a book not otherwise replete with thought, puts in the brilliant thought that the Exclusion Laws with which Bismarck scourged the Socialist Labor party of Germany rounded out that party's profit; they pulled out of the party all its freaks and shady characters, and kept new ones of that stripe from joining. The Exclusion Laws made the German S. L. P. a very unattractive thing for any but the best materials in point of character and sense, and thereby enabled that party to keep itself strong, pure and aggressive. Ditto, ditto, is this "Social Democracy" doing for us. It, the same as all its freak predecessors have done, is purifying our ranks grandly of the freaks and schemers, and such other flashy material together with the weak-kneed, whom our "intolerance," etc., had not yet rid us of. If you read the "Social Democrat" of Chicago, and see the names of "S. L. P. members" in St. Louis, Chicago, New York, Boston, etc., and of some others, who, "but for our intolerance would have become members of the S. L. P.," the spectacle must strike you as edifying. Me it forcibly reminds of the roaring student song of my student days about how into Noah's ark there marched

The animals two by two—
The elephant and the kangaroo,
The flea
And the chimpanzee.
(Loud laughter and applause.) The "Social Democracy" deserves our grati-

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tude for rendering us the important service of ridding us of such element or switching it away from us. (Applause.) Finally, there are those who are down on the "Social Democracy," claiming that it leads off good people. No doubt it does that in some cases. But the only salvation of such people lies just in the New York treatment of the "Social Democracy." By holding a firm attitude, an attitude that criticizes with a firm hand, that calls things pointedly by their true names, that neither is angered into intemperate fault-finding nor weakened by undue considerations, such good elements as the "Social Democracy" may attract to it, will be enabled to discover their error and join us. To Mr. Debs himself we are hereby rendering a great service. He will some time discover that the flatterers, who now beset him, and the informants, who now have his ears, played him a scurvy trick; while the ruthless economic and sociologic criticism to which we subject his plan, may add him, if there is in him sufficient vigor of mind and character, to perceive his mistakes, acknowledge them, mend his ways and, turn about. If Mr. Debs is what some who know him claim, we shall yet see him in the S. L. P. camp—a valuable man, because a reformed man, and a reformed man because of our present attitude towards him. (Applause.)

FORWARD WITHOUT FALTERING.

I might mention some more tactical points, but the hour is late, and these are the principal ones, that have their direct and actual application here.

Push forward upon uncompromising lines. Such conduct alone is calculated to make clear our principles and thereby to attract the masses. It must be our endeavor at this period to gather the best material in point of character and vigor. The howl raised by our march is a good sign. It is not the howl of friends turned to foes, but of concealed foes forced to show their colors. Only right principles can effect that unification that is needed for the success of our cause. Woe to the man or men who would interfere in this work of unification; who would set private ambitions or rancors above principle, and thus aid the cause of Capitalism by dividing the revolutionary forces. The path of the S. L. P. in the past is strewn with the carcasses of such; an infuriate proletariat will within short time treat such gentry to shorter shrifts. All the signs point to the conclusion that, accidents excepted, we, as we are here in this hall to-night, shall live to see the triumph of the S. L. P., the downfall of capitalism; and that, as the reward of the arduous labors now resting on our shoulders, we shall enjoy the satisfaction of handing down to the children of this generation a better world to live in than that our fathers handed down to us. (Loud and prolonged applause.)

QUESTIONS.

At the close of the address Comrade Byron Efford recited one of his stirring poems, and then the floor was opened for questions. A handful of Russian Anarchist Jews, who had promptly joined the "Social Democracy" in the pursuit of their policy of pushing anything that they think may injure the S. L. P., and who constitute the bulk of this "American" Socialist movement, demanded the floor for questions and tried to create a disturbance. They were promptly brought to order by the information from the Chairman that if they misdeemed themselves they would be physically put down and out. Most of the questions put were by them, and those questions illustrated to perfection the points that the speaker had scored against them. One of these questions, the first one put, was typical of the rest. Morris Jolles asked:

"The speaker says that all Russian Jews are rascals. I want to ask him why he solicits their votes in the Ninth Congressional District?"

The speaker: "I request all those who heard me use the words imputed to me by this gentleman, to raise their right hands.—No one raised his right hand.—None? To make the point doubly clear, I now request all those to raise their right hands who know that I did not use the words put into my mouth, and did not express the sentiments imputed to me by this gentleman.—The hands of the large audience went up; before they were let down, the speaker turned to the questioner, and pointing to the forest of arms that were still raised, said: "That is my answer to your question, sir."

Subscribers who are in arrears are urged to settle their accounts before January 1, 1898.

S. L. P. Supplies.

Platform and constitution, 50 cents per 100.
Due cards, 40 cents per 100.
Application cards, 40 cents per 100.
Address all orders for supplies to the Secretary of the National Executive Committee, Henry Kuhn, 184 William street, New York, N. Y.

Philadelphia, Pa.

Comrade Max Keller, 1016 Hope street, has been duly appointed agent for THE PEOPLE.

All subscribers are urgently requested to settle for their subscription by him if in arrears. Give him a hand in agitating and gathering new subscribers.

Buffalo, N. Y.

Comrade Van Kerkvordt, 428 Goethe street, has been elected agent for THE PEOPLE in place of Comrade Chas. Nilson who resigned.

All subscribers in arrears are requested to kindly remit when called upon by the new agent.

THE PEOPLE'S CALENDAR.

THE PEOPLE will this year have a very artistic and beautifully designed New Year Greeting, symbolizing the aggressiveness of our movement.

The central figure is that of a workman with the hammer in his uplifted hand, flanked by two female figures, representing Freedom and Revolution. There are many other notable features, producing all together a highly attractive and impressing ensemble.

Price 10 cents, sent to any address.

PARTY NEWS.

Activity of Militant Socialists East, West, North and South.

SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY.
NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE—Secretary Henry Kuhn, 184 William street, N. Y.
NATIONAL BOARD OF APPEALS—Secretary Robert Bandlow, 193 Champlain st., Cleveland, O.

National Executive Committee.

Comrade Stahl held the chair at the meeting on Dec. 14th. Furman, Bennett and Matchett were absent. The financial report for the week ending Dec. 11th showed receipts to the amount of \$105.75; expenditures, \$60.03; balance, \$45.72. Comrade Keindorf reports of his agitation in Delaware, Maryland and West Virginia. A belated report from Chicago tells of the expulsion of George Koop for having joined the S. D. Charters were granted to new Sections in Hagerstown, Md.; Latrobe and Roscoe, Pa.

L. A. MALKIEL, Rec. Secy.

Sections of the S. L. P., Attention!

The pamphlet "Erin's Hope," with an appendix, containing a call of the Irish Socialist Republican party to the working class Irish of America and a call of the National Executive Committee, S. L. P., to our Irish fellow workers, is now ready, and orders can be filled at short notice.

Price for single copies 5 cents. Discount to dealers and for larger quantities. Address all orders to N. Y. LABOR NEWS CO., 64 East 4th street, New York City.

Subscribers who are in arrears are urged to settle their accounts before January 1, 1898.

Kentucky.

LOUISVILLE, Ky., Dec. 10.—The Press Committee, in a previous letter to THE PEOPLE, expressed their opinion that the campaign agitation carried on in Louisville would result in a stronger American organization. To-day we are in the position to state that this prediction has been verified, for since the election the American Section has steadily increased in membership. The result of the election is very gratifying taking all things into consideration, for the "fake" issues of A. P. A.-ism, Populism and Prohibitionism all received a black eye, while the Socialists cast a good vote.

The official count slightly reduced the first figures published in THE PEOPLE because about twenty votes which had been stamped for both Socialist and Democratic tickets were counted for the Democrats. The official vote is as follows:

For Mayor—August Schneider, 68.
For Alderman—Albert Schmutz, 92; Christ Landolt, 87; Chas. Leyte, 88; Fred Rist, 88; Frank Giffey, 89; James D. Manning, 90.
For Councilman—R. P. Caldwell, 1st Ward, 88; Aug. Spaeth, 3d Ward, 87; Fritz Zimmermann, 6th Ward, 87; Louis Fleischer, 11th Ward, 87; Wm. A. Wolff, 12th Ward, 88.

Two "labor fakirs" were elected on the Democratic ticket, and now the unions who don't "believe in politics" (?) are being urged to endorse the appointment of arch fakir McGill for a fat city job. The central body of fakirs is making some of the best old line union men extremely tired, and there are good prospects for the withdrawals of some delegates from that body in the near future. Iron Moulders' Union No. 18 have already passed a resolution to that effect, and at the same time decided to favor the holding of open meetings for the discussion of economics and politics. The old and staunch Coopers' Union (K. of L. 1777), has never affiliated with the central body, and the progressive members of Brewers' Union No. 110, and also of Bakers' and Broommakers' Unions, are thoroughly disgusted.

The brewers are gradually getting enough "Kurzenknebe," and the bakers have had all the "Weismann" that they can possibly stomach.

The time is certainly ripening for a genuine progressive Central Labor Organization in this city, an organization which will recognize the necessity of fighting labor's battles along both economic and political lines.

The Socialists have time and again been put off with the excuse from the old style leaders "that the rank and file are not yet ripe" for Socialism. But we have had numerous experiences which have convinced us that this statement is NOT TRUE; that just the contrary is true, namely, that the rank and file ARE ripe for the gospel of Socialism, but that in most cases these self same leaders are purposely keeping their followers in ignorance regarding their true political interests. Therefore if a new central body is organized and it desires to escape the inactivity and impotency of the present body, it must be organized on a strict class-conscious basis, such as outlined by the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance. All

truly progressive trade unionists are gradually recognizing the fact that the fight against the S. T. & L. A. is but a reflex of the fight that has been and is yet made against the S. L. P. For just as the workers who are not yet class-conscious, at first oppose the S. L. P. BECAUSE THEY EXPECT TO GET THEIR RIGHTS FROM SOME CAPITALIST PARTY, so do they also oppose the formation of a CLASS-CONSCIOUS ECONOMIC ORGANIZATION, BECAUSE THEY STILL EXPECT THE OLD PURE AND SIMPLE ORGANIZATION to protect them economically. To the thoroughly class-conscious worker the one is the logical result of the other, all the labor fakirs to the contrary notwithstanding.

The annual session of the K. of L., which was held in Louisville for about ten days, was a very tame affair; in fact it is safe to say that had not our capitalist press devoted space to the same, nine-tenths of the workers here would not have known of their presence. Their "mass meeting," which was held for the purpose of organizing a mixed assembly, and largely advertised, was attended by 12 Socialists, 2 Anarchists, 3 Populists and several fakirs.

Sovereign, himself, upon seeing the "crowd" beat a hasty retreat, and gracefully left to Maguire and Parker the "star" roles of the evening performance. It is hardly necessary to add that as usual nothing was said and less done.

On Nov. 5th the Iron Moulders' Union No. 18 had an open meeting to the craft, at which general organizer Valentine and our Comrade, A. Schmutz, were the speakers.

Our Comrade spoke on old and new trade unionism, and put in some telling blows for the latter, which were very much appreciated judging by the applause at the close of his remarks.

Mr. Valentine, at the outset of his remarks, said that he agreed with the most that the previous speaker had said, but before concluding he made statements which could easily have been punctured by any intelligent craftsman present, if given the opportunity to do so.

Thus the cause of new trade unionism, hand in hand with the S. L. P., is constantly gaining ground, and the day is not far distant that will see these two great forces working in perfect unity, conquering the powers of capitalism.

To organize and educate these forces here in Louisville is our mission; let us be up and working for this end.

Fraternally, THE PRESS COM.

New York.

The next meeting of the General Committee of Section Greater New York, S. L. P., will be held on Saturday, December 18, 8 p. m., at the Labor Lyceum, 64 East 4th street, New York. Delegates should not fail to attend.

L. ABELSON, Organizer, Sec. Greater New York, S. L. P.

N. Y. CITY, 34th and 35th Assembly Districts.—Last meeting, presided over by Comrade Zucker, was held on Friday evening last. After going through the routine business the case of Peter Blumber and Baldishweiller was called up and the verdict of expulsion was sustained unanimously.

The vote on withdrawal of the delegates from the C. L. F. was unanimous against such withdrawal.

It having been resolved to form a club of young people, between the ages of 9 and 16 years, children of Socialists, their friends and persons interested, the committee in charge reported that meetings of this club were to be held on Wednesday evenings. A series of entertainments, coupled with discourses on Socialism adapted to their understanding, were to be instituted. All persons finding an interest in such a scheme are cordially invited to call and bring their children.

As the election districts are now given in charge of a Comrade for agitation, it was also resolved to issue subscription lists to the captains of such districts, the proceeds of which to be devoted to the carrying on of our Sunday evening lectures at our headquarters, southeast corner of 149th street and 3d avenue, at which place the young people's club also meets.

N. Y. CITY, 4th Assembly District.—A series of twelve lectures on "The Historical Development of Modern Socialism," to be delivered every second and fourth Fridays of the month, at 165 East Broadway.

2.—December 24—"Moore's Utopia," by J. Allman.

3.—January 14—"St. Simon," by L. Boudjanoff.

4.—January 28—"Fourier," by Slobodin.

5.—February 11—"Rob. Owen," by Dr. Girsdansk.

6.—February 25—"The Communist Manifesto," by S. Pollock.

7.—March 11—"Ferdinand Lassalle and His Significance for the German Social Democracy," by J. Bernstein.

8.—March 25—"International Workingmen's Association" (lecturer to be announced).

9.—April 8—"German Social Democracy," by M. Hilkwitz.

10.—April 22—"Socialism in France" (lecturer to be announced).

11.—May 13—"Trade Unionism in England," by N. I. Stone.

12.—May 27—"The Socialist Movement in America," by Daniel De Leon.

N. Y. CITY, 18th Assembly District Sunday evening lectures. Free to everybody, at Stuyvesant Hall, 351 East 17th street, near 1st avenue, New York City. Business meeting every Thursday, 8 p. m., at 246 1st avenue, between 14th and 15th streets. Come and join.

Programme of Lectures for December: Dec. 19—"The Relation of Philosophy to Socialism." Lecturer, James Allman.

Dec. 26—"Democracy." Lecturer, Chas. H. Matchett.

Lectures commence promptly at 8 p. m. Questions will be answered after the

THE DAILY PEOPLE

\$50,000 FUND.

Amount Pledged down to December 15th, 1897.

\$4,575.

Pledgers will please keep in mind the dates on which their payments fall due, as per printed list, and remit promptly. If any error appears on the list, correct with equal promptness.

THE DAILY PEOPLE COMMITTEE.
184 William St., N. Y.

lecture, but must be confined to the subject.

N. Y. SOCIALIST LITERARY SOCIETY.—Sunday afternoon lectures on Political, Social and Economic Questions. Admission free. At 100 Clinton street.

Dec. 19—"Machinery," Lecturer, C. Vander Porten.

Dec. 26—"The Socialist Labor Party and Its Platform," Lecturer, A. S. Brown. Those desiring information will be allowed to ask questions and to state their views.

Subscribers who are in arrears are urged to settle their accounts before January 1, 1898.

Rhode Island.

PROVIDENCE, R. I., Dec. 8.—The official count raises the S. L. P. vote for Mayor of Providence to 795. The candidates for the other offices polled larger votes, the candidate for City Treasurer polling 1,193.

The increase from 355 votes last year to 795 this year is very gratifying to the Comrades, and has been the signal for greater activity.

Owing to the inclemency of the weather hereabouts, our "spell-binders" can no longer hold forth on the street corners, consequently have to get indoors to carry on the agitation. Elmswood Branch has a series of meetings on the tapis, the first two of which have already been held. Olneyville Branch opened a series of Sunday evening lectures, which will continue weekly until May, on last Sunday evening. Our winter agitation is not as extensive as in summer only because of lack of money to cover the same territory by hall meetings. The City Committee, however, anticipate having weekly meetings in two other parts of the city, commencing in January, and continuing during the cold weather if the Comrades will aid them in raising funds.

On Tuesday, Dec. 21, Comrade Harry Carless, of Newark, N. J., will deliver his illustrated lecture, "When Prosperity Will Come," in Music Hall (next to largest in city.) Admission tickets are 15 and 25 cents; the latter for reserved seats.

It is expected a snug sum will be realized from this lecture with which to extend the agitation, as previously intimated. The City Committee has urged the branches to work hard, the branches have told the members to "hustle," and the latter have pulled up their sleeves and are hard at it. Keep it up, boys! Pack the hall.

Pawtucket Section has been holding Sunday evening meetings the past two months, and will continue them until the weather warms sufficiently to allow the "orator" to go out in the "open" to reach the economic heathen.

An apostle of the Single Tax was neatly vanquished in a debate held under its auspices on the 28th ult.

This Section has also made arrangements to have Comrade Harry Carless deliver his illustrated lecture in Temperance Hall, Central Falls, on the evening of Dec. 22. An admission fee of 10 cents is to be charged, and it is confidently expected that as a result Pawtucket Section will be enabled to extend its agitation.

Westerly Section is holding monthly agitation meetings in Stonecutters' Hall.

The State Committee has arranged to hold meetings weekly in Woonsocket. Meetings will also be held in Lonsdale, Warwick, Newport and other towns during the winter months and efforts made to organize Sections in those places.

The watchword from now until Dec. 31st should be REGISTER. J. R.

Virginia.

RICHMOND, Va., Dec. 12.—All subscribers to THE PEOPLE are requested to submit their dues to the agent of our Section, S. L. P., Louis Tegeler, New subscribers taken. Fraternally, E. SHROEDER.

PARLIAMENTS OF LABOR.

D. A. No. 1.

(CENTRAL LABOR FEDERATION OF N. Y.)

Delegate R. Glaser, of Section Greater New York, S. L. P., was chairman at last Sunday's meeting of the N. Y. Central Labor Federation, D. A. No. 1, S. T. & L. A., and delegate M. Grahl, of the N. Y. Cooks and Pastry Cooks, was vice-chairman.

A letter from the G. E. B., S. T. & L. A., announced a referendum vote on the label, and gave the names of L. A.'s whose charters had been revoked.

The Arbitration Committee reported that the New York "World" chapel of Typographical Union No. 6 had aided the "Germania Walters' Protective Association" in having the five members of the German Walters' Union No. 1 employed in the restaurant of said paper discharged for no cause whatsoever. The unions are to be notified of this case and the matter left in charge of the committee.

Ind. Bakers' Union, Branch 1, reported that hereafter it will meet every Sunday morning at 10 o'clock. Boss Schunk engaged a non-union cake-baker as foreman, and declared he did not care whether he employed union or non-union bakers. Branch No. 1 desires it known that this shop is non-union, and requests the East Side organizations to note this.

Ind. Bakers' Union, Branch 2, reported that a committee visited the proprietors of the following four shops, who declared that they would not coerce their workmen into joining a

union: Grussie, 9th avenue, between 41st and 42d streets; Bauch & Bros., 9th avenue, between 42d and 43d streets; Gruing, 9th avenue, between 49th and 50th streets, and Schade, 8th avenue, between 42d and 43d streets. The West Side organizations are requested to note these shops.

German Walters' Union No. 1 reported that they arranged a special meeting for this Friday to discuss the various communications remitted by the G. E. B., S. T. & L. A. They announced that Bakers' Branch 1, had a festival at Faulhaber's Hall, 1551 2d avenue, last Saturday, and that Faulhaber had engaged a non-union waiter. The Secretary of the Walters called upon him, and Faulhaber declared he did not care to what union his waiter belonged. The said waiter finally admitted that he belonged to no union, and a union waiter was engaged. Bakers' Branch 1, was notified that hereafter they must be careful and see that only waiters and bartenders are employed who are members of the organizations affiliated with the C. L. F.

Walters Alliance Liberty will hold a hall on Jan. 17th, 1898, at the Progress Ass. Rooms.

Empire City Lodge Machinists will remit action in writing at the next meeting relative to the matters presented by the G. E. B., S. T. & L. A.

Section Greater New York, S. L. P., reported relative to the withdrawal of delegates from the C. L. F., that the matter had been decided in the negative. The investigating committee on the "Journal" matter reported Bohm not guilty. All organizations were requested to settle the campaign lists at once. The Investigating Committee of the C. L. F. was then discharged.

Prog. Typographical Union No. 83 reported having accepted tickets from the Progress Club. A special meeting is being arranged to act on the requests of the G. E. B., S. T. & L. A. They furthermore demanded that the 3th Congressional District have the label of the S. T. & L. A. printed in the tickets, etc., for the affair at the Grand Central Palace. The G. E. B. was urged to take a stand in the matter of the "Abendblatt" Alliance.

Pressmen and Feeders' Union reported having arranged a discussion meeting twice a month. They will report about Krugers' shop at the next meeting.

United Marquette Workers' Union will meet regularly Mondays at 64 E. 4th street.

German Coppersmiths' Union will hold an important meeting this Saturday, at 198 Forsyth street, at which Waldinger and Sieburg will be present. A debate then ensued relative to the S. T. & L. A. label, which occupied the balance of the session.

Subscribers who are in arrears are urged to settle their accounts before January 1, 1898.

Socialist Tracts.

Price of the following Tracts and Party Platforms \$1.50 per thousand:

- 1—"What shall we do to be saved?" A Sermon to Workingmen, by Henry Kuhn.
- 2—"Socialism," by William Watkins.
- 3—"Why American workingmen should be Socialists," by H. G. Wilshire.
- 4—"Social Effects of Machinery," by Frank W. Cotton.
- 5—"Socialism." Extracts culled from Robert Blatchford's "Merrie England."
- 6—"A Plain Statement of Facts," by Hugo Vogt.
- 7—"Middle Class Municipalization and the Municipal Programme of the Socialist Labor Party."
- 8—"An Appeal of the Irish Socialist Republican Party to the Working Class Irish of America."
- 9—"An Appeal to the Workers to Enroll Themselves in the Ranks of the Socialist Labor Party."
- 10—"The Platform of the Socialist Labor Party" (with comments in the following languages, four pages: English, German, French, Italian, Slavic and Jewish).
- 11—"The Firebrand." A humorous comedy in one act. (Adapted from the German.) Price 1 cent per copy. 1,000 copies \$5.00.
- 12—"Reform or Revolution," by Daniel De Leon. 5 cents a copy.

Send your order to New York Labor News Co., 64 East 4th street, New York, N. Y.

To Irish Comrades.

All the copies of the pamphlet "The Rights of Ireland and the Faith of a Felon," received from Dublin from the Irish Socialist Republican Party, have been sold out; and there only remain on hand samples of the handsome green due card of the Irish Socialist Republican Party, which can be had at 5 cents each from

LABOR NEWS CO., 64 E. 4th street, New York City.

To the Assembly Districts, Wards and Branches, of Section Greater New York, S. L. P.

Your attention is called to a new pamphlet, entitled "Middle Class Municipalization and the Municipal Programme of the Socialist Labor Party," which can now be had from the Organizer, at \$1 per 1,000. The above organizations should supply themselves with this pamphlet, which should be distributed at the open air meetings and other places.

L. ABELSON, Organizer, 64 East 4th street, New York.

The receipt of a sample copy of this paper is an invitation to subscribe.

"Skand. Am. Arbetaren."

Our Swedish Party Organ can be had on trial for two months for 10 cents. Every comrade, who wants to help to push along our cause and who happens to know any Swedes, would do us a great favor by sending in the names and addresses with (or even without) 10 cents. Postage stamps accepted. Let the expected reader pay the price himself, if possible, but at any rate send along the name and address.

SKANDINAVIAN AM. ARBETAREN, 35-37 Frankfort St., New York, N. Y.

Trades and Societies Calendar.

Standing advertisements of Trades Unions and other Societies (not exceeding five lines) will be inserted under this heading hereafter at the rate of \$5.00 per annum.

Organizations should not lose such an opportunity of advertising their places of meetings.

Carl Sahm Club (Musicians Union), meets every Tuesday at 10 a. m., at 64 East 4th street, New York Labor Lyceum. Business Secretary: Fred. 23

Central Labor Federation of New York (S. T. & L. A., D. A. No. 1), meets at 230 every Sunday afternoon at 64 East 4th street, New York City. All bona-fide trade and labor Unions should be represented. Communications are to be sent to the corresponding Secretary, Ernest Bohm, 64 East 4th street, New York City. 23

Cigarmakers' Progressive International Union No. 80, Office and Employment Bureau, 64 East 4th street—District 1 (Bohemian), 381 East 7th street, at 113 Forsyth st. p. m.—District 11 (German), every Saturday at 8 p. m.—District 12 (Irish), meets at 157 avenue A, every Saturday at 8 p. m.—District 14, meets at 342 West 42nd street, every Saturday at 8 p. m.—The Board of Supervisors meets every Tuesday at 1422 2nd avenue, at 8 p. m. 24

Empire City Lodge (Machinists), meets every Wednesday evening at the Labor Lyceum, 64 East 4th street. Secretary: HENRY ZINCK. 25

German Walters' Union of New York, Office: 385 Bowery, Union Hall, 1st floor. Meetings every Friday at 4 p. m. Board of Supervisors meets every Wednesday at 4 p. m., at the same hall. 25

Musical Protective Alliance No. 1028, D. A. No. 49, S. T. & L. A., Headquarters, 79 E. 4th street, meets every Friday at 10 o'clock noon. Fred. Hartmann, Pres.; Fred. Woll, corr. Sec'y, Residence, 172 E. 4th St. 24

Section Essex County, S. L. P., meets the first Sunday in each month at 3 p. m. in the hall of "Essex County Socialist Club," 78 Springfield Ave., Newark, N. J. 189

Skandinavian Section, S. L. P., Meets 2nd and 4th Sunday of every month at 10 o'clock a. m., at Schuler's Hall, 231-233 East 34th St., New York City. Subscription orders taken for the Skand. Socialist Weekly, SKAND. AM. ARBETAREN. 24

Socialist Science Club, S. L. P., 34th Street, 35th A., Cor. of 3d Ave., at 10th St. Open every evening. Regular business meeting every Friday. 24

WORKMEN'S

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